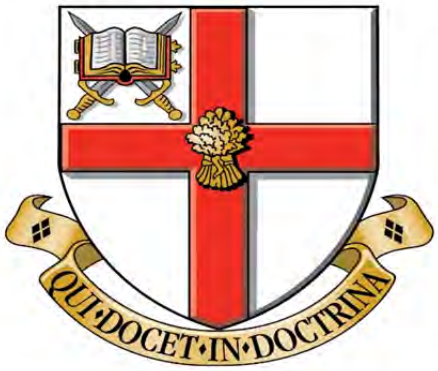

University of Chester

Young People, Sport and Leisure:

A Sociological Study of Youth Lifestyles

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

by

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Contents

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Abstract

In Britain, as elsewhere, over the past two or three decades there has been growing concern over the extent to which sport and physical activity are becoming increasingly rare features of contemporary youth lifestyles. One corollary of this growing concern with youth lifestyles has been the widespread acceptance of a number of common sense assumptions about the nature of young people's sporting and leisure lives. Notwithstanding these concerns, Coalter (2004: 79) has noted recently that, at present, much of the existing research on young people, sport and leisure has consistently failed to explain adequately or provide 'any clear understanding of sport's (and physical activity's) place in participants' lifestyles'. The central objective of this sociological study, therefore, was to enhance our understanding of the place of sport and physical activity in the lives of a sample of 15-16-year-olds, and of the relationships between various aspects of their lives. More specifically, the thesis reports upon data generated by questionnaires completed by 1,010 15-16-year-olds who attended six secondary schools in the north-west of England and one secondary school in the north-east of Wales, as well as focus groups conducted with a sub-sample of 153 of these young people. The findings revealed that for many 15-16-year-olds, participation in sport and particularly 'lifestyle activities', was an integral aspect of both their school and leisure lives. In school physical education (PE) and extra-curricular PE, young people's participation – which was significantly related to sex and school attended – was largely dominated by competitive team-based sports that are typically gendered and stereotypical. The data also indicated that although there were no significant school- or age-related differences in participation in leisure-sport and physical activity overall, more males than females participated in sport and physical activity in their leisure time. Males were also the more frequent weekly participants and spent more time doing so than females. In addition, the data revealed that the leisure-sport and physical activity repertoires of 15-16-year-olds were characterized by involvement in more informally organized sports and highly-individualized recreational 'lifestyle activities', as well as a small number of team sports that were played competitively. It was also clear that participation in leisure-sport and physical activity was part of young people's quest for generating sociability and excitement in the company of friends and because it enabled them to do what they wanted, when they wanted and with whom they wanted. For many young people, however, and particularly the more frequent participants, playing sport and doing physical activity was just one component in their generally busy and wide-ranging leisure lives, which did not prevent them from engaging simultaneously in more sedentary activities (such as prolonged TV viewing and playing computer games) and commercially-oriented leisure activities, as well as consuming legal and illegal drugs. In this regard, it is argued that it is only possible to understand adequately where sport and physical activity fit into the multi-dimensional lives of 15-16-year-olds by examining those lives 'in the round', and by locating young people within the various networks of relationships to which they have belonged in the past, and which they continue to form in the present.

Introduction

Britain, Europe and much of the developed world, have experienced growing concern over the past three decades or more with what is said to be a trend towards sport and physical activity becoming increasingly rare features of contemporary youth lifestyles. Indeed, the belief that young people have dramatically reduced their participation in sport and physical activity – both inside and outside of the educational context – and have, as a consequence, become increasingly 'unhealthy' has become something of a received wisdom. What is particularly striking about this belief is the emergence of a broad consensus that declining participation in sport and physical activity – alongside the growing prevalence of 'unhealthy' diets and an increasing preference for engaging in sedentary leisure activities – are the main causes of an obesity epidemic and general health crisis believed to characterize contemporary youth lifestyles (see, for example, Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2003; British Heart Foundation [BHF], 2000, 2004; Gard, 2004; Gard and Wright, 2001, 2005; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Smith and Green, 2005).

One corollary of this growing concern with youth lifestyles has been the widespread acceptance of a number of common sense assumptions about the nature of young people's sporting and leisure lives. But to what extent do these claims stand up to critical examination? In other words, does the available evidence actually indicate a decline in young people's participation in sport and physical activity? Are contemporary youth lifestyles characterized, in fact, by a neglect of sport and physical activity involvement in leisure in particular? Moreover, if young people do not

participate in sport and physical activity in their leisure, then what other kinds of leisure activities do they engage in?

This study sets out to examine these issues as they relate to a group of 15-16-year-olds in England and Wales. It does so because with notable exceptions (see, for example, Coalter, 1999, 2004; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b), many of the claims made about young people's sporting and leisure lives have been largely ideological in nature – partly as a consequence of far too involved, insufficiently detached, perspectives on the part of a number of political, media, sporting and even academic observers.

It is argued that the highly emotive and heavily value-laden character of much of the existing work and public and semi-public policy on young people, sport and leisure (Department for Culture, Media and Sport [DCMS], 2000; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Department of National Heritage [DNH], 1995; Independent Sports Review Group [ISRG], 2005) has had the effect of hindering, rather than helping, the development of a more adequate understanding of young people, sport and leisure, and of the relationships between the various aspects of young people's lives. One of the objectives of this study, therefore, is to enhance our understanding of young people, sport and leisure, and of the relationships between various aspects of young people's lives. The view that young people's lives need to be examined from a more detached perspective than has often been the case derives from figurational sociology associated with the work of Norbert Elias (1897-1990). The figurational sociological perspective provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. The concept of involvement and detachment is examined in more detail in Chapter Two.

Despite public and political expressions of concern regarding the nature of youth lifestyles, Coalter (2004: 79), among others (see, for example, Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Whitehead *et al.*, 2006), has noted recently that, at present, much of the existing research on young people, adults, sport and leisure has consistently failed to explain adequately or provide 'any clear understanding of sport's (and physical activity's) place in participants' lifestyles'. In addition, there is also currently 'a shortage of small and medium scale studies that explore the fine detail of the leisure of specific social groups' (Roberts, 1999: 17) such as young people. Consequently, one of the central objectives of this thesis is to subject the frequently untested, taken-for-granted assumptions about the relationship between sport and leisure in people's lives to empirical study and to offer a *relatively detached analysis* of young people's lifestyles.

This study focuses upon the sporting and leisure lives of 15-16-year-olds for several reasons. First, since the Wolfenden Report (CCPR, 1960), it has been taken-for-granted that when 15- and 16-year-olds approach a critical point in their lives – the end of compulsory schooling – there is a widespread tendency for them to 'drop out' of sport and physical activity (DCMS, 2000, DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; DNH, 1995; ISRG, 2005), alongside a correlative increase in their propensity for adopting increasingly adult-like lifestyles and behaviours (Balding, 2006; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Roberts, 1999, 2004; Sweeting and West, 2003). Second, and notwithstanding any changes in sporting participation since 1960, it remains the case that age 16 (in effect, the end of compulsory schooling) is one of the three age points at which participation declines most markedly (Fox and Rickards, 2004). Third, age 16 also represents a

stage in the life-course at which, as Roberts (1999) puts it, people's lives 'unfreeze' – a point at which their circumstances can change significantly and they are more, rather than less, likely to reorganize, amongst other things, their leisure lives. Fourth, whilst there has been an increase in the number of studies (see, for example, Mason, 1995; North West Development Agency [NWDA], 2005; Sport England 1995, 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Sports Council for Wales [SCW], 1995, 2001, 2003a, 2003b) exploring the sporting lives of school-age youngsters, none of these have concentrated in depth on the age-group on the cusp of this seemingly crucial – not least in sporting terms – life-stage transition, nor have they attempted to contextualize young people's sporting participation within their broader leisure lives in any depth.

In the context of the present study, Chapter One – the review of existing literature – begins to subject to critical examination many of the common sense claims about young people's lives, by focusing, in particular, upon the trends in young people's sport and physical activity participation – both in PE and leisure – over the last two to three decades, as well as other key aspects of their leisure lifestyles. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical framework for the study: that of figurational sociology. In particular, by drawing upon existing work in the sociology of youth and leisure, this chapter outlines how what Elias and other figurational sociologists have to say might fruitfully be applied to a sociological study of young people's lives and the place of sport, physical activity and leisure therein. The ways in which the theoretical assumptions and 'sensitizing concepts' of figurational sociology informed the selection of the two research methods – a survey (in the form of a two-part self-completion questionnaire) and focus groups – that were employed in the study as part

of a cross-sectional research design are outlined in Chapter Three, which describes and explains how the study was conducted.

Chapters Four to Eight present the data from the study and in doing so consider young people's participation in sport and physical activity in PE, extra-curricular PE and in their leisure time, as well as their involvement in a range of other leisure activities. Chapter Nine outlines how the data presented in these chapters, in conjunction with the wider literature, help to advance our understanding of young people, sport and leisure, and of the relationships between the various aspects of young people's lives. More particularly, starting from the premise that it is only possible to understand adequately where sport and physical activity fit into young people's lives by locating them within the various figurations to which they have belonged in the past, and which they continue to form in the present, the chapter outlines the beginnings of a figurational sociological explanation of young people's sporting and leisure lives. The conclusion to the thesis reflects upon the sociological significance of the data reported in this thesis and the benefit of examining young people's lives from a relatively detached perspective, both in terms of the extent to which such an approach helps to advance our understanding of young people's lives and the practical value that such an approach may have in policy formation terms.

The contemporary context

What is notable about concern surrounding the supposed low levels of sport and physical activity participation and its alleged relationship with other aspects of young people's lifestyles, however, is that it results from what is a widespread tendency within much sociological and social scientific writing: that is, it results from a

tendency towards thinking about social phenomena in 'hodie-centric' or 'present-centred' terms (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977). In this regard, it should be noted that although the current concern over aspects of youth lifestyles – particularly the sporting and leisure aspects – has meant that their supposed low level of participation in sport and physical activity has come to be accorded the status of a major social problem, when viewed developmentally it becomes clear that such concern represents, in many respects, a re-surfacing of a longstanding moral panic that may be traced back over several decades. This process has, however, been especially marked since 1945 and, with particular attention focusing upon the improvement of health via school-based physical education (PE) (see, for example, Green, 2003; Kirk, 1992), has mirrored the growing concern with public health generally. Indeed, the commentaries of the British media around this time expressed concern about the perceived *in*activity of both adults and young people and, in this context, it was considered necessary to promote 'active participation in (games which) needs encouragement at a time when we are fast becoming a nation of game watchers, football-pool fillers, and radio listeners' (Times Educational Supplement [TES], 18 October 1947; cited in Kirk, 1992: 104) not least because it was thought that 'the British have become a nation of spectators, not sportsmen (sic)' (TES, 15 June 1951; cited in Kirk, 1992: 105).

Thus, by the 1950s – a point in time that is commonly viewed by many in the 21st century as representing a part of the 'golden age' of British sports participation (Roberts, 1996a) – concern surrounding the supposedly growing prevalence of sedentary behaviours and declining levels of sport and physical activity participation as more-or-less central aspects of youth lifestyles was becoming increasingly evident.

Such concern was associated with, amongst other processes, the increasing medicalization of life that involved an extension of medical authority into non-medical areas of life (including sport and physical activity), which in turn manifested itself in an ostensibly greater concern for health generally, and of young people in particular (see, for example, Hardman and Stensel, 2003; Waddington, 2000).

By the 1970s, concern surrounding declining levels of sport and physical activity participation among young people and their allegedly growing propensity towards adopting 'sedentary lifestyles' had grown into a cacophony. By this time, many Western societies had experienced a dramatic growth in allegedly preventable 'lifestyle' or hypokinetic diseases (for example, coronary heart disease [CHD] and obesity) (Hardman and Stensel, 2003; Waddington, 2000). Against this backdrop, a gradual re-orientation of concern occurred (among those within and beyond the medical profession and government) away from what Houlihan and White (2002) term the 'welfare of society' and towards a focus on public health and the increasingly prevalent lifestyle diseases.

The 1980s witnessed a further period of rapidly growing societal interest (particularly in the Western world) in health matters and, in the context of the rising cost of health and medical care, by the early 1990s concern surrounding the prevalence of 'lifestyle' diseases (such as overweight and obesity) as a corollary of sedentary living and the declining levels of sport and physical activity participation among young people intensified further (Hardman and Stensel, 2003; Waddington, 2000). Indeed, it has been since the mid-1990s that the 'state' of young people's sporting lifestyles and health have, to a greater or lesser degree, become one of the most prominent 'headline

social problems' (Cohen, 1972: 199) in the academic and popular press, as well as in government policy in many countries.

In Britain, this concern has encouraged a renewed and persistent attempt by government (often in the form of public health and sport policies), the media, PE teachers and quangos such as Sport England, among others, to focus upon sporting and physical activity lifestyles – in PE and leisure – as one way in which to reverse the 'health crisis' among young people (Gard, 2004; Gard and Wright, 2001, 2005; Green, 2004; Kirk, 2004). More particularly, in the light of the taken-for-granted perception that 'something needs to be done' about the ostensible trend among young people towards inactivity and sedentary living, recent government policy and semi-official pronouncements in Britain (see, for example, BHF, 2000, 2004; DCMS, 2000; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; DNH, 1995; ISRG, 2005) have attested to, and subsequently played up, the alleged decline in young people's involvement in sport and physical activity and its relationship with what has been described as the emerging 'couch-potato culture' characteristic of youth's leisure lifestyles (BHF, 2000, 2004; Department of Health [DoH], 2003; National Audit Office [NAO], 2001; Royal College of Physicians *et al.*, 2004; World Health Organisation [WHO], 2002).

This contemporary context provided the backdrop for this study of the sporting and leisure lives of 15- and 16-year-olds in the north-west of England and north-east of Wales.

Chapter One

Young People, Sport and Leisure Lifestyles

The Introduction outlined a number of common sense claims about young people's sporting and leisure lives that provide the context within which this study was undertaken. In particular, it was suggested that there exists a widely-held belief that young people's participation in sport and physical activity – both inside and outside of schools – has dramatically declined. This supposed decline has been strongly associated with the adoption of sedentary, and so-called 'couch-potato' lifestyles, among young people in their leisure time in particular. The object of this chapter is to explore in greater detail the extensive literature on young people's sporting and leisure lives. More specifically, the chapter seeks: (i) to examine the sporting dimensions of young people's lives, focusing, in particular, upon the trends in their sport and physical activity participation – both in PE and leisure – over the last two or three decades; and (ii) to examine some other key aspects of their leisure lifestyles, such as their use of the media.

Young people's sporting lifestyles

Levels of participation in sport and physical activity among young people

In Britain over the last decade or so, concern expressed over the sporting lifestyles of young people has occurred in conjunction with the findings of various government-funded surveys by sporting (for example, Sport England) and non-sporting (for example, DoH) organizations that have sought to establish baseline data on young people's involvement in sport and physical activity. These are relatively recent developments for, prior to the late 1980s, there existed little systematically - collected

and empirically - grounded data on the sport and physical activity participation of young people. There is, however, some evidence – albeit limited – which suggests that the participation levels of both young people and adults was lower in the 1960s and 1970s than currently (see, for example, CCPR, 1960; Gratton and Tice, 1994; Kirk, 1992; Roberts, 1996a). It was not until the mid-1990s, however, that the findings from the first nationwide investigations into young people's involvement in sport and physical activity in Britain were published (Mason, 1995; SCW, 1995).

Commenting upon the data reported in the government-funded survey conducted by Mason (1995), Roberts (1996a, 1996b) noted how, contrary to government claims at the time and in contrast to romanticized views of widespread participation levels in the past, the data clearly suggested that over the 10 years or so prior to the survey there had been an empirically observable *increase* in young people's sport and physical activity participation. More specifically, Roberts noted that:

> young people were playing more sports in and out of school than in the past ... the drop-out rate on completion of statutory schooling had fallen dramatically ... social class and gender differences had narrowed (and) ... sports had higher youth participation and retention than any other structured forms of leisure (Roberts, 1996b: 105).

On the basis of more recently available government-funded data reported in national participation surveys conducted in Britain (SCW, 2003a, 2003b; Sport England, 2001, 2003a, 2003b), it has also been suggested that even though it runs counter to the currently popular view that participation levels are seriously declining (DNH, 1995; DCMS, 2000; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; ISRG, 2005), the demonstrable tendency among young people towards *increased* levels of involvement in sport and physical activity participation – both inside and outside of the educational context – has

continued into the twenty-first century (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Green, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Green *et al.* 2005a; Kirk, 2004; Roberts, 2004; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004). This upward trend in participation does not appear to be restricted solely to Britain. Studies conducted in a number of European countries and the USA have also indicated that sport and physical activity participation among young people has increased over the past two to three decades and remains one of the most popular leisure activities among that group (see, for example, Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; De Knop and De Martelaer, 2001; Mamen and Aaberge, 2006; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002; Scheerder *et al.*, 2005a; Sportscotland, 2002; Sturm, 2004; Telama *et al.*, 2002).

Since the specific details of the reported levels and patterns of participation have been discussed at length in each of the studies cited, the following section offers only a brief summary of the key themes that can be derived from the findings of these and other studies that have examined young people's participation in sport and leisure.

Young people's participation in school sport and physical activity

In the Introduction it was suggested that one of the most striking characteristics of British government policy towards sport in recent years has been the assumption that school sport (and, in particular, competitive team sport) and physical activity is in a rapid decline (Kirk, 2004; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004). More specifically, the apparent failure of many schools to provide youngsters with what has been ambiguously described as 'two or more hours of high quality PE' (DfES/DCMS, 2003; Hardman and Marshall, 2000; Kirk, 2004, 2005a), as well as the purported 'privileging' of sport and team games over physical activity in PE curricula (Kirk, 2004; Penney and Chandler, 2000; Penney and Evans, 1999),

are believed to be among the central reasons for young people's supposed declining levels of participation and the perceived failure of physical educationalists in ensuring that young people remain actively involved in leisure sport and physical activity both in the short- and long-term (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Kirk, 2004).

However, and notwithstanding these claims, it is clear from the available evidence that, in 2002, almost all young people in England and Wales were participating occasionally (at least once in the past year) in sport and physical activity via National Curriculum Physical Education (NCPE) and over three-quarters were involved on a regular (at least 10 times in the past year) basis in both countries (SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a). It was also apparent that while there has been a 'small, but notable, increase in the numbers of young people who are *not* taking part in at least one sport regularly' (Sport England, 2003: 5; original emphasis), 'there are now fewer young people spending less than one hour, or no time, in a week doing sports and exercise than was the case in 1994' (Sport England, 2003: 58). Indeed, although there have been fluctuations from year to year, overall participation in sport and physical activity via NCPE has increased over the same period. More specifically, it is not only the frequency with which young people participate and the time spent doing so which has increased however, for alongside these trends there has been an increase in the number of sports and physical activities in which they frequently participate in school (SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a).

These increases are particularly worthy of note not least because they point to the ways in which many PE teachers in England, over the last eight years, appear to have focused more upon '*increasing the range* of sports that young people take part in' and

less upon 'the frequency in which they participate in individual sports' (Sport England, 2003: 19; emphases added). In similar fashion, the 'slight increase since 1999' in young people's (and especially girls') participation in sport and physical activities within the PE curriculum in Wales has been 'generated by increases in traditional sports as well as activities which promote general health and fitness' (SCW, 2003a: 4) that have been added to PE curricula in recent years.

Indeed, despite persistent criticism of the so-called traditional sports-based approach to organising PE curricula and its suitability for enhancing young people's levels of, and lifelong participation in, sport and physical activity (see, for example, Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; MacPhail *et al.*, 2003; Penney and Chandler, 2000; Penney and Harris, 1997), PE teachers have, over the course of the last quarter of a century, supplemented the 'traditional' PE activities with other activities in *broader* PE curricula (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b) and this has been strongly associated with the increasing levels of participation among young people (Roberts, 1996a, 1996b). More particularly, whilst sport and team games do account for more than half of what is delivered in the name of PE in the UK, nevertheless, PE curricula have developed in recent decades to become more varied, incorporating a broader range of partner and team sports (such as badminton and golf) and 'lifestyle activities' (such as swimming, multi-gym and aerobics) that tend, by degrees, to 'track' into adulthood and which are key features of their leisure-sport and physical activity lifestyles (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a).

A related feature of the broadening of PE curricula has been the tendency by teachers towards *supplementing* the 'traditional' sport- and team-game-oriented PE curriculum

by incorporating individual and small group activities in the later secondary school years (Roberts, 1996a, 1996b). This provision, it has been claimed, reflects the ways in which teachers have responded to young people's changing sport and leisure styles and preferences, as well as become increasingly concerned with providing 'sport for all' alongside competitive sport in PE (Green, 2002a; Roberts, 1996a, 1996). Whilst the provision of a greater degree of 'activity choice' is partly a reflection of teachers' pragmatic concerns, it has also been justified on the basis that it allows PE to become more enjoyable, recreational and leisure-oriented at Key Stage (KS) 4 (Years 10 and 11) that helps to increase participation rates in PE, particularly in relatively deprived social areas (Green, 2003). This shift away from more skills-based forms of PE at KS3, towards more recreational, sociable and leisure-oriented forms of PE at KS4, is evidently favoured by pupils not least because the latter form of PE begins to resemble more closely their *actual* present-day sporting and leisure lifestyle preferences – in terms of the activities offered, the form in which they are provided, and, more crucially, because is provides social situations in which they can 'hang around' and have fun with friends in a more informal setting in school (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Smith and Parr, 2007).

These increasing participation levels in sport and physical activity among young people in PE are also said to have been related to a recent government policy objective: namely, the establishment of Specialist Sports Colleges (SSC) since 1997 (DCMS, 2000; DfES/DCMS, 2003; OFSTED, 2005). As part of the specialist schools programme that was launched in 1994 ostensibly in order 'to help secondary schools to develop strengths and raise standards in a chosen specialism' (OFSTED, 2005: 5), SSCs are intended to act as centres of excellence for sport, one of the main objectives

of which is to improve participation in PE and school sport amongst students of all abilities (DCMS, 2000; DfES/DCMS, 2003; OFSTED, 2005). At present, SSCs would appear to have been effective in terms of making links with other schools and sports clubs, and using specialist coaches to help introduce young people to a wide range of sports, as well as aiding the wider regeneration of school facilities and local communities (Houlihan, 2000; Office for Standards in Education [OFSTED], 2005). However, evidence for the extent to which SSCs – compared to other schools – have been associated with increasing levels of participation amongst all pupils in PE and school sport is both limited and contradictory (see, for example, Houlihan, 2000; Loughborough Partnership, 2005). Indeed, it remains to be seen whether SSCs have the desired impact upon young people's participation in, and experiences of, PE and sport as has been claimed by government ministers recently (DCMS, 2000; DfES/DCMS, 2003; OFSTED, 2005).

These points notwithstanding, and while it seems clear that there has been an empirically observable increase in participation to be found among school-aged young people during NCPE, it would be something of an oversimplification to suggest that males and females always participate in the same sports and physical activities, not least because of the gendered experiences they tend to receive – in terms of the activities provided – as part of PE programmes in schools (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Kirk, 1992, 2003; Scraton, 1992; Waddington *et al.*, 1998). For example, although males and females were participating more-or-less equally during lessons, in both primary and secondary schools in England in 2002, males played significantly more football, rugby union, cricket and basketball and participated in more multi-gym activities both occasionally and frequently compared to females. The

latter, in turn, played significantly more netball, hockey, rounders and tennis and were more likely to take part in dance, gymnastics and aerobics classes, while activities such as athletics, swimming, cross-country and badminton were done by roughly the same proportion of both sexes on an occasional and frequent basis (Sport England, 2003a).

A similar pattern is also discernible in the curricula participatory patterns of males and females in Wales, where females, in particular, significantly increased their curricula participation in a number of sports and physical activities, most prominent amongst which were football, gymnastics, circuit training, aerobics and athletics. Likewise, males reported significant increases in participation in activities such as circuit training weight training, football, basketball and tennis (SCW, 2003a). These increases notwithstanding, it remained the case that whilst the sexes were participating more-or-less equally in sport and physical activity both occasionally and frequently during lessons, males and females were, like their counterparts in English primary and secondary schools, not always participating in the same activities. For example, football and rugby as well as cricket were played both occasionally and frequently in lessons by many more males than females, while netball, hockey and dance became major participatory activities among females, but were played by far fewer males (SCW, 2003a). As in England, participation in activities such as athletics, badminton and swimming was unrelated to gender in the primary and secondary groups and females were doing as much, and as many, sports and physical activities as males in school lessons, both occasionally and frequently, and were being offered a wide range, encompassing activities played mainly by females and others that were played by both sexes (SCW, 2003a).

It is also clear from the available data that males and females of secondary school age in England and Wales have roughly the same participation rates in those activities that have witnessed the most dramatic increases in participation (particularly, though by no means exclusively, in leisure), in recent years: namely, 'lifestyle activities' (such as swimming, cycling and walking). That is, those activities which are characteristically individual or small-group activities and which are flexible in nature, usually less-competitive and tend to be pursued more recreationally than competitive team-based sports (Coalter, 1996, 1999, 2004).

Nonetheless, the data referred to above suggest that while males' and females' experiences of sport and physical activities are diverse (Colwell, 1999) – and while there have been substantial increases in participation by many young women over the last two or three decades – gender differences still persist in terms of the *kinds* of activities in which they participate both within PE lessons and, as the next section indicates, leisure as well.

Young people's participation in extra-curricular PE and leisure

It has been suggested so far that despite possible fluctuations, and contrary to popular wisdom, there has been an increase in young people's involvement in sport and physical activity in NCPE. This section extends the analysis by examining youngsters' extra-curricular PE and leisure-sport and physical activity participation. Before doing so, however, it should be noted that many of the existing surveys of youth participation such as those conducted by Sport England and the SCW, have referred not to leisure *per se*, but to participation 'out-of-lessons' and 'extra-curricular PE' respectively, both of which are intended to incorporate some reference to leisure-

time participation. The methodological problems of using these kinds of 'catch-all' categories are discussed in further detail in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, is worth outlining some of the key participatory trends of these surveys before moving on to a consideration of other studies which have sought to examine more adequately the non-school aspects of youth participation in sport and physical activity.

It is widely believed that not only is there a problem in the form of declining levels of participation among young people in PE, but also that this is even greater when one considers young people's sporting involvement in leisure (DNH, 1995; DCMS, 2000; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; ISRG, 2005). However, in much the same way that the available data cast serious doubt upon the adequacy of the claim that participation levels in NCPE are in drastic decline, the suggestion that young people have substantially reduced their involvement in sport and physical activity via extra-curricular PE and leisure also appears to be wide of the mark. Indeed, as Roberts (1996a) and Green and colleagues (2005a) have observed, evidence from various government-funded surveys in England and Wales reveal quite clearly that since the mid-1990s, in particular, there has been an even more substantial *increase* in young people's out-of-school involvement in sport and physical activity than the reported increases within the NCPE context (Green, 2002a, 2003, 2004; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Smith and Green., 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004).

Data from the most recent Sport England (2003a) survey of youth participation 'out-of-lessons', for example, indicated that over three-quarters of all young people were regular participants in some sport and physical activity, while just over half of all youngsters surveyed by the SCW (2003a) were involved this frequently during extra-

curricular PE. In England, it is also clear that whilst 14% participated in no sport or physical activity 'out-of-lessons' (compared with 17% in 1999), the proportion of young people who played seven or more sports frequently outside of school lessons in 2002 (26%) has steadily increased since 1994, with most young people involved in five sports and physical activities on average (Sport England, 2003a).

Despite these overall increases in participation, there are 'clear differences in the types of sports which girls and boys, and different age groups choose to participate in frequently, out of lessons' (Sport England, 2003a: 80). In general terms, among secondary-age youngsters, swimming, cycling, football, tennis, walking, snooker, pool and billiards and skateboarding were the most popular activities in which young people were involved (Sport England, 2003a, 2003b). The extent to which young people are involved in lifestyle activities during leisure is considered later, but for the moment it worth outlining some of the gender differences that exist in terms of the kinds of activities in which youngsters participate 'out-of-lessons'. Of those activities which were pursued regularly by those in the secondary-age group, significantly more males played football, cricket, basketball and golf, while females played significantly more netball and rounders and were more likely to attend dance, gymnastics and aerobics classes and go horse riding than were males (Sport England, 2003a, 2003b).

In Wales a similar pattern can be found in the extra-curricula involvement of both males and females who participated in approximately three sports on average compared to four in 1999. Whilst there has been an overall decrease in extra-curricula participation, many males and females continue to participate in traditionally stereotypical masculine and feminine sports respectively (SCW, 2003a). In terms of

the activities in which they participate, just under half of males regularly play football and rugby, while smaller proportions play tennis and basketball and go swimming, whereas netball, hockey as well as dance and gymnastics remain the most popular extra-curricular activities among females (SCW, 2003a).

Despite the evident gender differences that exist in terms of some of the *kinds* of activities in which young men and women are involved during leisure, and although higher rates of participation are consistently reported by males despite rising levels of participation among young women (SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a), it is noteworthy that there has been a substantial increase and diversification in both males' and, in particular, females' participation in leisure time. These increases, it has been claimed, are largely attributable to increases in their involvement in 'lifestyle activities' (Coalter, 1996, 1999, 2004) that are strongly associated 'not only in Britain but in other countries, too, with the emergence of commercialized, consumption-based, body-image-oriented and highly individualized fashions such as jogging, aerobics and the use of mechanized fitness clubs' (Dunning and Waddington, 2003: 355-6). They have also been strongly associated with the rapid expansion of public and private sports leisure centres (Houlihan and White, 2002; Roberts, 2004) and the adoption of 'sport for all' policies both inside and outside of schools (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a) over the past two or three decades. As Roberts (2004: 91) observes, these kinds of activities have become increasingly popular not least because:

> public facilities that are available for general public use, on a pay-as-you-go basis, seem more congruent with present-day young people's and adults' lifestyle preferences than the stronger commitment involved in club membership.

In other words, since the 1970s there has been an increasing trend among young people (and adults) in Britain and a number of European countries as well as the USA (De Knop and De Martealer, 2001; Mamen and Aaberge, 2006; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002, 2005a, 2005b; Strum, 2004; Telama *et al.*, 2002), towards engaging in sports and physical activities during leisure that can be integrated more easily into their increasingly individualized lifestyles (examined in more detail in Chapter Two) than regular, more structured, forms of involvement such as that required by a strong commitment to club-based sport (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Roberts, 2004).

It is perhaps not altogether surprising, therefore, that in several European countries, including Britain, 'there is believed to be a problem of young people failing to join sports clubs' (Roberts, 2004: 91) during their leisure. Indeed, whilst it is clear that 'in recent years some European countries' sports clubs have experienced a loss of members' (Roberts, 2004: 32) and 'that today's young people seem to be less 'clubbable' than their predecessors' (Roberts, 2004: 91), this is not to say that young people are abandoning sport and physical activity during their leisure. Rather, as Roberts (2004: 32) has noted in relation to elsewhere in Europe (though the general point would apply equally well to Britain):

> It is more a case of them engaging in recreational swimming, surfing, skiing, sailing and so on without joining clubs and teams, and participating in competitions. This does not mean that competitive sport is threatened with extinction. It is more a shift in the constantly moving boundary between club sport and self-organised recreation.

These points notwithstanding, it might with equal validity be noted that while there has been a gradual move away from young people participating in club-based sport in leisure since the 1980s, which occurred in conjunction with a substantial growth in

leisure participation at commercial leisure centres and private gyms, this has not meant that the numbers playing competitive sports have been eliminated or even reduced (Roberts, 2004). It is more the case that although involvement in club sport declines with age upon the end of compulsory schooling and is not necessarily long-term for many young people who first take it up (De Knop *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; SCW, 2002; Telama *et al.*, 2002), for a minority of youngsters (and adults) competitive club-sport remains an important aspect of their sporting lives both in education at schools, colleges and universities, and in leisure.

Indeed, according to the most recently available data, levels of competitive sport in schools and leisure, while not as high as levels of more recreational forms of involvement, *are* higher than is generally supposed by government and the media as well as sporting bodies (Campbell, 2005; Campbell *et al.*, 2005; DNH, 1995; DCMS, 2000; DfES/DCMS, 2003; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; France, 2005; ISRG, 2005; SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a). In England, for example, while the number of young people attending sports clubs in their leisure has remained roughly the same since 1994 (43%), by 2002 youngsters had significantly increased their involvement in inter-sports club and inter-school competitions and competitions against members of their own sports club outside of school, and just over half of all young people were also involved in sports and physical activities at youth clubs that are more-or-less competitive (Sport England, 2003a). Despite these overall increases in competitive sports involvement, it remains the case in Britain that, as in many European countries, males are still more likely to be members of leisure-sports clubs and are more likely to be playing sports such as football, cricket, rugby union, rugby league and golf at those clubs than females, who are in turn more likely to attend clubs that offer

swimming, gymnastics and dance (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 2004; SCW, 2003b; Sport England, 2003a).

With the shift away from competitive sports towards more recreational 'lifestyle activities' among some young people, there are several caveats regarding trends in levels and types of participation in sport and physical activity among young people. First, and notwithstanding the evident popularity of 'lifestyle activities' among young people, this does not preclude team sports (that are, by their very nature, competitive) from being pursued more *recreationally*. Nor, for that matter, does the popularity of recreational versions of sports preclude involvement in activities where the primary motive for participating might be 'competition'. Second, while these kinds of 'lifestyle activities' have, as Coalter (2004: 79) observes, 'experienced substantial increases in participation' by young people and 'are among those with the most regular participants' (p. 80), nevertheless, it seems that sport and team games *as well as* 'lifestyle activities' have become an integral feature of young people's participation both inside and outside of school in many countries (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Green, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004; Sport England, 2003a, 2003b; SCW, 2003a; Telama *et al.*, 2002; Telama *et al.*, 2005).

The third point is that the evident shift towards 'lifestyle activities' should not be taken to indicate that young people are turning their back on competitive sport and team games in particular, for to leave the analysis here would be to oversimplify what is, in reality, the rather complex nature of young people's leisure-time participatory repertoires. As Green *et al.* (2005a) have noted, while over half of young people in

the secondary age group in England participated in team games frequently in their leisure and approximately a third played racket games, it is not only football and other 'traditional' games – such as cricket – that remain popular among a minority of secondary age youngsters. Rather, 'newer' team sports (such as basketball) as well as partner sports (such as tennis, badminton and table tennis) also feature alongside more potentially recreational, less competitive 'lifestyle activities' (such as swimming, cycling, roller-skating/blading and skateboarding, running, and tenpin bowling) (Sport England, 2003a). Although it is true to say that young people's levels of participation in football has remained roughly the same over the past decade – and some other team games like cricket continue to lose appeal among boys – many games remain as popular now as previously; with netball, hockey, tennis and badminton, for example, becoming more popular among secondary aged youngsters (Sport England, 2003a). Similarly, in Wales, those activities that have witnessed marked increases in curricula participation in 1999 compared to 2002 included, for example, sports such as football, basketball, cricket and gymnastics, alongside more individual 'lifestyle activities' such as circuit training, aerobics and weight-training (SCW, 2003a).

In short, as Telama and colleagues have pointed out with regard to Finland – although the point might be equally applied to many youngsters across Europe, including Britain – 'the most popular types of sports (or, rather, physical activities) among adolescents are ... cycling, swimming, walking and running' (Telama *et al.*, 1994: 68) *alongside* other more competitive, performance-oriented team sports such as football and basketball. This having been said, it is important to keep in mind the point that while for many young people 'sport makes a relatively limited contribution,

it is clear that individualistic and flexible activities dominate' (Coalter, 2004: 80) their leisure sport and physical activity lifestyles. Indeed, these are the kinds of activities in which they are more likely to continue participating 'indoors' at, for example, their local sport and leisure centres, gymnasium or health clubs where they 'can attend to play their preferred sports, with their own friends (and) at times of their own choice' (Roberts, 1996b: 113).

Finally, it appears that the growth in 'lifestyle activities' developments have been strongly associated with the fact that many 'more women than ever before are taking part in (sport and) physical activity in and out of school contexts' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 5) usually, but by no means exclusively, it has been argued, in stereotypically feminine activities (for example, swimming, aerobics, dance, jogging) and in female-only settings (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 13). More specifically, the leisure-sport and physical activity lifestyles of the young women in Flintoff and Scraton's (2001) study included 'some of the more traditional "female" sport and activities, such as netball, hockey, keep fit, swimming and aerobics' alongside 'other, less traditional activities, such as kick-boxing and weight training' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 14) that are more often than not located in private and public leisure centres and gyms and associated with more recreational orientations towards involvement.

Although this is a tendency that is hardened as young people grow older (Cox *et al.*, 2006; Roberts and Brodie, 1992), it is worth remembering that while 'many sports (and physical activities) are participated in more often by men than by women, and some sports (and physical activities) vice versa ... if developments in various sports

such as football ... rugby and boxing during the 20th century are considered, it is clear that few sports (and physical activities) remain exclusively male' (Colwell, 1999: 222). Indeed, as a reflection of the slight shift in the balance of power between males and females in favour of the latter (Colwell, 1999; Dunning, 1999), many women *have* increased their regular participation in popular so-called male-dominated sports such as football and rugby in recent years (SCW, 2001, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a), although this remains much lower for many females (Cox *et al.*, 2006; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Williams and Bedward, 2001).

Having considered the significance of age and gender as more-or-less central aspects of the trends in young people's involvement in sport and physical activity, in the next section, it is worth briefly summarizing what the available data – limited though they are – suggest about the complex and many-sided relationships between social class (including length of stay in education) and ethnicity and sport and physical activity participation among young people.

The significance of social dynamics for young people's participation

Social class and participation in sport and physical activity

As Dunning *et al.* (2002: 17) have noted, 'Social class raises complex and contentious sociological issues of definition and measurement'. While a detailed consideration of these issues is beyond the scope of this thesis, it seems clear that while the available data suggest that there is a positive and consistent correlation between adults' sport and physical activity participation and their current social stratification rankings (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1978; Burton *et al.*, 2003; Coalter, 2004; Coalter *et al.*, 1995; Collins, 2003; Donnelly and Harvey, 1999; Dunning, 1999; Green *et al.*, 2005b; Kirk

et al., 1997; Roberts, 1996a; Wilson, 2002), data in support of such a relationship between young people's participation and their social class is much harder to come by, is relatively scanty and cannot be described as definitive as such. In relation to adults, the available data suggest that social class is strongly correlated with sports participation in terms of the frequency, kinds and numbers of sports in which people participate, as well as where and with whom one participates. In particular, the evidence suggests that the higher one's position in the social hierarchy, the greater the rate of participation and overall involvement in sport and physical activity is likely to be. It is also clear that those from the middle- and upper-classes are more likely to play sport and have wider sporting networks that are based primarily in voluntary or commercial sporting and physical activity venues, whilst the lower- or working-classes are more likely to inhabit local authority run centres (Donnelly, 1996; Donnelly and Harvey, 1999; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Green *et al.*, 2005b; SCW, 2002; Wilson, 2002).

In England, for example, participation rates among unskilled male and female manual workers are significantly lower compared to those in professional groupings (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002), while in Wales, social groups A and B are more than twice as likely to participate than group E in outdoor and indoor games and activities (SCW, 2002). It is not only the rates of participation but also the forms of participation and numbers of sports in which people are involved that social class impacts upon. Scheerder *et al.* (2005c) observe that in Belgium – as with the rest of Europe – sports and physical activities such as golf, fencing, sailing, skiing, squash and tennis are more common among the middle- and upper-classes whilst boxing, angling, weight-lifting and karate, for example, are more popular among those lower

down the social strata. By contrast, team sports such as football and rugby league and union are often engaged in by members of all social classes, and especially the working classes in the case of the first two of these (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1978, 1986; Donnelly and Harvey, 1999; Dunning, 1999; Green *et al.*, 2005b; Wilson, 2002).

While much of this evidence refers to the significance of social class for adults' sports participation, and although there is an absence of any systematically and empirically collected data on the relationship between the social background of young people and their participation, there are some data which suggest that although the differences are becoming increasingly blurred (Roberts, 1996a), social class impacts on youngsters' participation in sport and physical activity in many complex ways. For example, using free school meals as a proxy measure, the SCW (2003a: 4) concluded that young people's present stratificational standings 'had only a minimal impact upon the likelihood and level of sports participation' within the educational context, while in terms of their leisure involvement (in the form of either extra-curricular physical education and/or spare time sports clubs), the mean number of activities undertaken by those who participated was marginally lower for those receiving free school meals and who are thus, by extension, usually considered as working-class (SCW, 2001). Beyond these data however, there exists very little systematically collected empirical evidence on the significance of young people's social backgrounds for their involvement in sport and physical activity.

Notwithstanding the lack of definitive or 'hard' data in this regard, there are a number of theoretical reasons to suggest that social class impacts upon the frequency with

which young people participate in sport and physical activity, as well the activities in which they are involved. In this context, it is worth highlighting the observation of Roberts and Brodie (1992) that whilst social class impacts upon the likely involvement of young people in sport and physical activity in the first place, its impact upon committed participants is minimal and largely restricted to kinds and amounts of involvement. More specifically, it has been suggested that although male and female working-class youngsters who remain involved throughout the adolescent years are as likely as their middle-class counterparts to remain 'locked-in' to sport and physical activity (Roberts, 1996b), it seems that young people (especially young males) on middle-class life trajectories tend to have higher levels of participation than working-class youngsters (Roberts and Brodie, 1992).

Indeed, it appears that 'the main social class differences are no longer in whether young people play any sport, but how often' (Roberts, 1996a: 54) they participate and in which particular activities they are involved, as well as the general 'styles' of participation including who they choose to play with, the clubs they belong to and the centres they use (Roberts and Brodie, 1992). To this we might also add that it is the difference between the *number* of sports and physical activities in which males and females from various social backgrounds play, rather than whether they play or not, that is also crucial. As evidence from elsewhere in Europe suggests, whilst young people as well as adults from the 'lower social classes continue to be characterised by a narrower range of sports participation' (Scheerder *et al.*, 2002: 225) – that is to say, many of those from lower class backgrounds typically play less than three sports or physical activities compared to many of those from the upper-middle classes – it is the former who have 'experienced the most marked increases in participation rates'

over the last quarter of a century or so (Scheerder *et al.*, 2002: 225). In short, it seems that whilst sports participation continues to be related to, among other things, age, sex and social class, 'it is no longer true that all or nearly all participants are young, male and middle-class' (Roberts, 1996a: 54).

This having been said, it seems fairly clear that youngsters from middle-class backgrounds are more likely to be advantaged in terms of the sports and activities in which they are involved, one aspect of which is the influence of their parents. According to Roberts and Brodie (1992), many middle-class parents are not only more likely to possess the economic capital to enable their off-spring to engage in *sport and physical activity they are also more inclined to pass their 'love of sport' on* not least because they have already been – and/or still are – actively involved themselves (Roberts and Brodie, 1992). While youngsters from working-class backgrounds are also often strongly influenced by their parents and especially young men, by their fathers, towards participating in sport and team sports – in particular, football and rugby union and rugby league (Dunning, 1999) – young people on middle-class life courses 'are the most likely to be introduced to a wider range of sports' and are the most likely 'to continue to participate throughout the years when sports careers are most vulnerable' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 60).

Thus, whilst being a prominent feature of middle-class leisure lifestyles, participating in sport is, nevertheless, often a key aspect of the lives of a significant majority of youngsters from all class backgrounds. It should also be noted that while income and wealth are often important mediating variables in some of the sporting things that class predicts (such as skiing, ocean yachting and even golf), the significance of

social class for participation is also interdependent with other social dynamics (such as gender). This means that in a variety of situations, and in a variety of different ways, social class often adds to the likelihood of variation in young people's and adults' participation in some sports than others: for example, swimming, golf, keep-fit and cycling (Bourdieu, 1978, 1986; Coalter, 1999, 2004; Donnelly and Harvey, 1999; Green *et al.*, 2005b; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002, Scheerder *et al.*, 2005c; Wilson, 2002).

Finally, one other significant aspect of social class – level of educational attainment – is also worthy of brief mention for, as Roberts (2004: 91) has noted, 'Education-based sports provision in the UK appears conducive to retaining in sport the increasing numbers of young people who remain in education up to age 18 and beyond'. More particularly, data currently available from a variety of different European countries consistently indicates 'a strong relationship between social class and education' (Coalter *et al.*, 1995: 70) inasmuch as the longer a young person stays in full-time education the higher their rate of participation in sport and physical activity is likely to be, and the less likely it is that they will drop out of sport in the future having been more likely to take it up in the first place (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Coalter *et al.*, 1995; Collins and Kay, 2003; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 2004; Wilson, 2002). More specifically, education appears, as Coalter *et al.* (1995: 70) have noted, 'to be the most important component of social class because those who remain in full time education after the statutory leaving age are more likely to have the free time and more likely to be provided with the opportunity for free participation in a wide range of sports'. More recently, Coalter (2004) has noted that one corollary of the expansion of further and higher education has been a substantial growth in the participation of young women noted earlier. In particular, he remarked that 'the

increases in and diversification of women's sports participation have paralleled a dramatic increase in their participation in higher education' (Coalter, 2004: 84), and that for young people generally, but especially young women and those from working class backgrounds, 'it is likely that this trend in sports participation will continue' (Coalter, 2004: 84) if further and higher education continues to expand in a similar manner over the next decade or so.

'Ethnic' differences in young people's participation

The first point to note when seeking to establish the involvement of young people from 'non-white' ethnic groupings in sport and physical activity, is that the publication of the first national statistics on the levels and patterns of participation by those aged 16 and above did not emerge until 2000 (Sport England, 2000). Data that examine in great detail the participation of secondary school-age youngsters from 'non-white' backgrounds is also similarly lacking. Second, it is also worth remembering that attempting to classify men and women from various ethnic groupings in surveys of this kind – and in the manner outlined below – will inevitably involve simplifying the diversity that exists between and within different groups (Sport England, 2000).

These methodological problems aside, the available data on adults suggests somewhat unsurprisingly that there is 'considerable variation in the levels of participation between different ethnic groups, between men and women, and between different sports' (Sport England, 2000: 37). Overall, the levels of participation among those from 'non-white' ethnic groupings – and males, in particular – are typically lower than that of the rest of the population. Black African men and men who describe

themselves as 'Black Other' tend to participate more than other ethnic groupings, while 'Black Other' and Chinese women are amongst the highest female participants who are drawn from 'non-white' groupings (Sport England, 2000). Among the most popular activities – in participatory terms – for adults across all 'ethnic' groups are 'walking', keep fit and yoga, while cycling, snooker/pool/billiards, soccer, and weight training are pursued by many more men than women from all ethnic groupings (Sport England, 2000).

On the whole, data from the Sport England survey alongside the findings of other studies (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Farrell and Shields, 2002), suggest that compared to the rest of the population, sport and physical activity participation amongst those men and women from 'non-white' ethnic groups tends to be lower, although, as outlined above, there are variations which are more often than not explainable more in terms of young people's own preferences and a consequence of cultural constraints – both real and perceived – and perhaps less by the racist practices of people in the wider society (Fleming, 1995; Roberts, 1999; Verma and Darby, 1994).

Summarizing young people's trends in sport and physical activity participation

Despite the existence of a romanticized view of young people's supposedly higher participation levels in sport and physical activity at some unspecified point in the past, the available data indicate an increase in Britain since the 1970s, alongside a broadening and diversification of participation among young people in particular. Indeed, while there is a significant minority of youngsters doing relatively little or absolutely nothing, and while they may not be doing as much as some (such as

government, PE teachers and sports' governing bodies as well as sports 'addicts') might want – nor, for that matter, as much or at the level as deemed desirable for the improvement of health – they appear, according to empirical studies, to be doing far more than their parents and grandparents typically did and far more than is commonly claimed.

This having been said, it would be wrong to assume that *all* young people participate as regularly, to the same extent, or even, for that matter, in the same kinds of activities. Such a clear-cut formulation cannot capture all of the complexities involved. In fact, there appears to be a polarization of young people's sport and physical activity participation levels into those who participate on an almost daily basis and those who participate rarely, if at all, with most young people somewhere in the middle (Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Telama *et al.*, 2002). Participation levels, as Roberts (1996a: 51) observed, continue to be distributed along a bell-shaped curve:

> Most are towards the middle. At one extreme a minority are highly active relative to the norm. At the other extreme another minority is in active both relatively and absolutely.

Indeed, whilst young people as a whole are experiencing a broader diet of sports and physical activities in PE and in their leisure time than previous generations, and notwithstanding the aforementioned gender differences in their levels and patterns of participation in those activities, it remains the case that young people cannot be easily 'pigeon-holed'; there are variations in their participation over time and space as well as variations that are related to a whole constellation of interacting processes associated with, among other things, age, gender, social class and ethnicity (Coalter,

1999, 2004; Coalter *et al.*, 1995; Donnelly and Harvey, 1999; Green *et al.*, 2005b; Roberts, 1996a; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002, Scheerder *et al.*, 2005c).

While studies such as those referred to above – that have based their analyses on the findings of participation surveys – are useful in illuminating the trends in youth participation as they developed over time and space, they cannot by their very nature and purposes reveal much about the personal and social significance of young people's sporting and leisure lives (Wright *et al.*, 2003). Thus, on the assumption that young people's involvement in sport and physical activity is 'very much dependent on, and cannot be divorced from, what (is) happening in the rest of their lives' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 15), the next section briefly considers those studies which have attempted to locate the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, before examining other aspects of their leisure.

Sport and physical activity in the lives of young people

Perhaps the first point worthy of note is that at the present stage in the development of the study of young people's lifestyles, not only within sociology but the other social sciences, too, there exist two opposing and mutually disadvantaging tendencies. On the one hand there is a tendency for those with an interest in social science perspectives of sport and physical activity to focus upon the sporting aspects of youth lifestyles without any real attempt to examine, to any great degree, the complex inter-relationships that exist between these and other equally significant aspects of their lifestyles, and, in particular, the leisure dimensions of lifestyles (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Coakley and White, 1992, 1999; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Telama *et al.*, 2005; Wright *et al.*,

2003). On the other hand, there is a parallel tendency among sociologists of leisure and youth – with the notable exception of Roberts (1996a, 2004) – to largely ignore the sporting aspects of youngsters' lifestyles in favour of examining issues such as education, employment and 'life transitions' (see, for example, Mizen, 2004); the consumption of drugs of both a legal and illegal kind (see, for example, Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Miller and Plant, 2001, 2003a, 2003b; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Sweeting and West, 2003; Williams and Parker, 2001); use of electronic media (see, for example, Bull, 2005; Livingstone, 2002) and engagement with music – in particular, dance and rave music – as central aspects of youth lifestyles (see, for example, Bennett, 2000, 2005).

Although this is perhaps explainable in terms of such issues being a reflection of the particular research interests of those within the field – and the degree to which each of these sub-disciplines have developed and become established as relatively autonomous areas of study within the parent discipline of sociology – it is clear that there has been very little attempt to examine the place and significance of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, and its relationship with other aspects of leisure by examining the views and experiences of the young people themselves. In the light of this, it is worth examining the findings of three studies located primarily within the sociology of sport, physical activity and PE that have sought to examine the nature of young people's sporting lifestyles, before moving on, in the final section, to a consideration of other aspects of young people's leisure lives.

Writing about the existing research within the sociology of sport, physical activity, PE and leisure in the early 1980s, Coakley and White noted that much of this

literature 'did not tell us much about how sport participation was integrated into the lives of young people either in the USA or England' (1999: 77). It was in this context that, in the late 1980s, Coakley and White (1992, 1999) sought to explore how sport and physical activity participation was incorporated, if at all, into the lives of 26 young women and 34 young men aged 13 to 23 (only three were older than 18) in Britain. In particular, they were concerned with examining the ways in which young people created 'their own sport lives within the constraints of the social situations in which they make choices about what they will do and who they will be' (1992: 22). In this regard, Coakley and White (1992, 1999) concluded that the decisions young people made about participating – or not, as the case may have been – in sport and physical activity were significantly influenced by:

- the concerns that the young people had about growing up and being seen as competent;
- the young people's sense of who they were and what was important in their lives;
- constraints associated with lack of money, the rules and wishes of parents, and the expectations of girlfriends or boyfriends;
- vivid memories of past experiences in school sports and physical education. (Coakley and White, 1999: 79)

More particularly, for the young people in this study, decisions about participating in sport were inextricably tied to the process of becoming an adult and 'growing up' and, in the light of these concerns, they sought to engage in leisure activities that were perceived as being important to them as young adults, and which they associated with adulthood. In the sporting context, Coakley and White (1992: 24) observed that the decision by young people to 'participate in certain sport activities were most likely made when the activities were seen as related to this transition to adulthood'. In particular, the concern for participating in activities that were taken to be an indication of 'growing up' principally involved, on the one hand, a reduction in their

involvement in highly-structured, adult-organized, sports activities that are associated with childhood (such as school sports teams and clubs), and on the other, a correlative increase in their preference for engaging in 'adult-like' sports and physical activities (a good example would be attending private health and fitness gymnasia), not least because the former were perceived as being 'organized and supervised by adults who would treat them as children instead of young people concerned with taking control of their own lives' (Coakley and White, 1992: 24).

While this was a prominent concern among both young men and women, the latter were especially concerned with distancing themselves from engaging in school sports such as netball where they were frequently required to play alongside younger girls, and because they believed 'the boys' would perceive them as being immature had they done so. There was also a noticeable difference among young men and women regarding the relative importance of sport to them while 'their decisions about sport participation clearly reflected the ways in which traditional gender definitions had been incorporated in to their identities and lives' (Coakley and White, 1999: 85). All but three of the young women in the sample suggested that being a woman meant that sport participation was often a low priority in their lives and that the process of becoming an adult was heavily circumscribed by what they perceived as being the constraints placed upon them to engage in activities where traditional notions of femininity could be reaffirmed. And this, for the most part, did not involve sport.

Among the young men, however, 'sport participation was much more likely to be seen as compatible with becoming a man ... (and) was seen by some as a reaffirmation of their manhood' (Coakley and White, 1992: 25). Indeed, for many of

the young men 'sports were masculine activities' (Coakley and White, 1999: 81) and were perceived, as Dunning (1999: 222) puts it, to be 'of considerable importance in (their) identity formation and habitus' and were thus perceived to hold a central place in their lives. There are exceptions to this of course. Coakley and White (1992, 1999) reported that for some of the young men (although this applied equally to the young women) in their study who reportedly lacked skills in popular sports such as football actively sought to avoid participation in sport altogether – and were thus 'liable to be categorized as "effeminate", perhaps even as "homosexual", by their peers' (Dunning, 1999: 222) – or restricted their involvement 'to informal physical activities done on their own or in the company of a close friend or family member' (1992: 27) that enabled them to display and extend their personal competence. This notwithstanding, the fact that sport has become a significant aspect of the individual and social habitus of many males (and, increasingly, some groups of females) is not altogether surprising, for as Dunning (1999: 222) has noted:

> such is the pressure to participate in sport – from the media, in schools, from their age peers and, of course, their parents, especially their fathers – that British males, virtually independently of social class though not perhaps of religious and ethnic affiliations to the same degree, are forced to develop an internalized adjustment to it.

In a similar manner, the parallel tendency in many parts of British society, as elsewhere, for sportswomen (particularly those who play team sports) to be categorized as 'lesbian' or 'butch' (Dunning, 1999) may also discourage some young women from becoming engaged in sport. Perhaps more importantly, however, is the degree to which some young women (and men) feel competent in their ability to engage in *particular* sports and physical activities – often in the company of like-minded friends – for a variety of reasons without feeling embarrassed and without

contravening perceived constraints grounded in gender, class, ethnic and cultural affiliations. The fact that substantial numbers of young women have dramatically increased their involvement in more recreational, less competitive, 'lifestyle activities' as well as sports which are more traditionally viewed as 'masculine' in nature (for example, football, rugby and boxing) bears witness to this (Colwell, 1999; Dunning, 1999).

In addition to these aforementioned constraints, the youngsters' decisions in Coakley and White's study to participate in sport and physical activity were also closely related to financial and parental constraints as well as those posed by boyfriends and girlfriends (Coakley and White, 1992, 1999). A lack of money, particularly among those from working-class backgrounds, had a significant impact on the participation of both young women and men in terms of transportation to facilities, entrance and membership fees once they were there, as well as the equipment required to be involved (Coakley and White, 1992, 1999). Among the young women in particular, these financial constraints were further compounded by those imposed upon them by parents who, while frequently supportive of their participation, often had significant influence over the kinds of activities in which they were involved, where and with whom they were involved. Furthermore, in the light of concerns about safety, parents were more likely to make special arrangements to collect them (particularly after dark) from the locations at which they were participating and sought to ensure that their daughters were spending time with a known 'best friend'. The young men, by contrast, were often not subject to these kinds of parental constraints and were, as a consequence, more likely to be given greater freedom to participate in those sports

and activities in which they wished to be involved, usually with a group of nameless 'mates' (Coakley and White, 1992, 1999).

Their relationships with boyfriends and girlfriends also often had an impact on youngsters' own involvement in sport and physical activity. In this regard, young men were more likely to continue to participate in those activities of their own preference and choosing even when their girlfriends did not necessarily approve and, while participation as a couple was not uncommon, 'they more often chose to do things on their own than was the case for young women with boyfriends' (Coakley and White, 1992: 29). Indeed, for many of the young women in this study, maintaining relationships with boyfriends was of real importance and this often led them to modify their sport and leisure activities accordingly to accommodate more adequately those of their boyfriends.

Finally, corroborating the findings of more recent research (see, for example, Flintoff and Scraton, 2001), past experiences of PE and school sport were an additional influence on the decision of many young people, but especially young women, to participate in sport and physical activity later in their lives. Indeed, the fact that experiences of PE were associated by many young women with boredom, lack of choice and feeling incompetent as well as concerns about their physical appearance and the changing and showering routine often, although not always, resulted in them being 'switched off sport long before they left school' (Coakley and White, 1992: 33) and thus played a role in their decision whether to continue participating in the future. While it is often for these reasons, among others, that some young men may also cease participating or change the nature of their participation, they were less likely to

report experiencing these forms of dissatisfaction with PE. Of course, Coakley and White (1992) were writing about young people in the late 1980s and it may well be the case that now, almost two decades later, many more young women and men continue to participate in sport and physical activity in their leisure time despite – indeed, relatively independently from – what might be viewed as 'negative' experiences of PE (although for some this is still a factor in their decision not to continue their involvement) and that this is not such a consideration as previously thought.

The principal strength of Coakley and White's research – which represents one of the first attempts to locate the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives – is the stress they place upon the need to examine how 'participation patterns shift over time depending on opportunities, constraints, social relationships, memories of the past, and changes in the lives and self-conceptions of young men and women' (Coakley and White, 1999: 85). However, and notwithstanding the merits of this approach, Coakley and White's study does not provide a thoroughly sociological examination – perhaps because of the nature of the Sports Council funded project – of young people's lives in the round and how their sport and physical activity involvement was experienced *alongside* and *in relation to* other, potentially more significant, aspects of their leisure lives and, for that matter, their lives as a whole.

In a more recent study of *Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles* (YPLL), Hendry *et al.* (1993) sought to address more adequately the leisure side of the equation as well as how sport and physical activity was incorporated into young people's (13-24-year-olds) lifestyles during adolescence and early adulthood. Broadly speaking, in the

sport-specific aspects of the *YPLL* study conducted with over 10,000 Scottish youth, Hendry *et al.* (1993) focused upon what influenced youngsters towards participating in sport and physical activity and how this involvement 'can be regarded as one aspect of the transition across the adolescent years from adult-led leisure groups and organizations through casual peer-oriented groups to commercial leisure contexts' (Hendry *et al.*, 1993: 63). More specifically, when briefly stated, the findings revealed that:

- participation was widespread among young people, particularly among males and those aged 19 and below;
- significantly more males than females were involved in sport and physical activity on a weekly basis, while the latter were more likely to be involved in 'recreational activity' than 'competitive sport' which was more popular among the former, with little difference in involvement according to social class;
- recreation was cited by more females than males as the primary motive for participation, especially between school Years 10 and 11;
- friends and parents, especially the former, have a significant influence on promoting and sustaining young men and women's involvement in sport and physical activity, although that of parents declines with age; and
- young people are more likely to play and want to be involved because of their friends than any other social group, such as parents, with the primary motive for many being 'socializing' (Hendry *et al.*, 1993).

Beyond these findings however – and notwithstanding the vast amount of empirical data presented – the authors, in similar fashion to the Coakley and White study, do not offer an adequate insight into how young people experience sport and physical activity in relation to other aspects of their leisure which were also examined as part of the study (such as 'hanging around' with friends, use of legal and illegal drugs, attending pubs, discos and youth clubs, visiting the cinema and so forth), and nor, for that matter, do they attempt to examine the complex interrelationships between these dimensions of lifestyles. Thus, by separating out what are in fact experienced as interrelated aspects of lifestyles, it is not possible from the data presented to

determine the relative importance and place of sport and physical activity in the lives of the young people included in the study *vis-à-vis* other aspects of their leisure. While on the face of it *YPLL* promised to shed much needed light on the complexity of young people's lifestyles and, in particular, the place of sport and physical activity therein, the study raises as many questions as it provides answers.

Despite the points raised by Coakley and White (1992) and Hendry and colleagues (1993) over a decade ago, there has been relatively little progress in terms of the extent to which the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives in Britain has been made subject to critical examination (Coalter, 2004). Indeed, there has been just one further published empirical study that examined the place and meaning of physical activity in the lives of 15-year-old young women who attended four schools in the north of England (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). In relation to experiences of PE, the findings of this study indicated, *inter alia*, that for almost all of the young women PE was something that they viewed negatively, primarily because of the choice of activities and physical experiences available to them, the clothes they had to wear, and their relationships with teachers (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). More particularly, whilst they were provided with a degree of activity choice in the later secondary school years, many of the young women were often quite critical of their involvement in PE because it revolved, for the most part, around a number of heavily gendered, largely competitive, team sports (such as hockey and netball) that were perceived as being out-dated activities that were 'insufficiently linked to the needs and interests of young people today' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 11). In other words, these young women were especially critical of the PE curricula provided by their teachers because they rarely matched their leisure-sport and physical activity

preferences and because they were activities that they themselves had not chosen. By contrast, those teachers who did provide them with a greater degree of choice of activities in which to participate, and whom they perceived as treating them 'more like adults' and in a more respectful manner, were viewed rather more positively by the young women (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). It was also clear that those young women who were taught PE in single-sex lessons often spoke about their experiences of the subject more favourably, whilst those who were taught in mixed-sex settings were rather more inclined to speak negatively about their experiences of PE, especially when they described what they saw as the male-dominated nature of lessons and the comments made to them by some males about their sporting abilities and bodies (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001).

Despite the prevalence of these kinds of experiences, and the suggestion by many young women that there was little or no link between sport and physical activity involvement in PE and leisure, the majority of these young women *did* participate in their leisure time. Much of this participation was in female-only settings and in highly individualized, more traditionally 'female' activities such as swimming, jogging and aerobics that were done in the company of friends and other older females relatives, and which were more recreational and self-organized in orientation (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001). Other young women reported participating in 'less traditional activities, such as kick boxing and weight training' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 14) for which they trained competitively as part of a sports club. Overall, Flintoff and Scraton (2001) noted that the meaning and place of sport and physical activity varied considerably in the lives of young women; their involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity varied both in terms of the nature of the activity in which they

participated and the intensity and extent of that involvement; and that participation was differentially constrained by friends, parents, financial considerations, school and paid work commitments, and by being able to do those activities they wanted, when they wanted, and with whom they wanted.

Beyond Britain, Wright and colleagues (2003) are currently conducting a national longitudinal study that examines the place and significance of sport and physical activity in the lives of young people in Australia from a range of social, cultural and geographical locations. The authors' preliminary analysis of the data generated from the study, thus far, suggests that the youngsters in the sample were first introduced to various sports and activities at an early age, usually at the school at which they attended, but also reported participating with friends and parents during their leisure. Indeed, while the specific nature of the activities often varied according to the location of their school and home – for example, those who lived close to the coast were more likely than those who lived in the city to have began surfing and join a surf club while young – the majority of youngsters were frequently engaged in a range of backyard and informal activities with friends and family, the experience of which was constrained, amongst other things, by social class position and family structure (Wright *et al.*, 2003). Consistent with their counterparts in Britain, the young men were more likely to participate in competitive team sports (such as Aussie Rules and cricket) both inside and outside of school, whilst more individualized, informal physical activities (such as gymnastics, dance and swimming) were the main participatory activities of young women (Wright *et al.*, 2003).

It is clear from the data, however, that geographical, ethnic, cultural and social class cleavages played an important part in, and were among the central reasons for, the variations found not only in the levels and patterns of participation in the activities cited but also the place and meaning of those activities in the lives of the young men and women more broadly (Wright *et al.*, 2003). While the consequences of these interacted in many complex ways, for both males and females who lived in the western suburbs and who came from poorer families and residential areas with a diverse ethnic composition, sport and physical activity was often viewed as being an unimportant part of their lives, and when those who did participate, this more often than not took place within schools which were regarded as important sites for the provision of cheap, available facilities and equipment. Youngsters who attended these schools participated less frequently and in a narrower range of sports, with baseball and softball the most popular activity for males and females respectively (Wright *et al.*, 2003). By contrast, those students who lived and attended schools in more affluent regions had a wider range of activities and community and environmental provisions from which to choose (including 'the surf', swimming pools, commercial gyms and so forth).

Thus far, Wright *et al.* (2003) appear to have established that sport and physical activity was often a central aspect of the leisure and identities of youngsters – particularly males in the all-boys school – not least because they were frequently constrained by the ethos of their school, family and friends towards participating in particular kinds of socially normative 'masculine' activities (such as rugby league, soccer, surfing and skateboarding). While the significance of sport and physical activity did not appear to be as apparent or as strong among young women, they were

nonetheless engaged in a variety of activities – ranging from informal, casual forms of participation to that at an elite level – including traditional 'masculine' sports (such as rugby league) as well as dance and softball (Wright *et al.*, 2003).

While the cultural context of Australia is in some respects different from that in Britain, the preliminary findings of the study appear, perhaps unsurprisingly, to suggest that young people's participation in sport and physical activity is structured along gender, class and geographical lines and, in this regard, the findings of the study are consistent with the wider literature reviewed earlier. However, in similar vein to Coakley and White's study and the *YPLL* study (Hendry *et al.*, 1993), Wright *et al.*'s research, while on-going, has failed thus far to address adequately one of the formally stated objectives of the study, namely, to examine 'the place of (sport) and physical activity in relation to other forms of leisure in young people's lives' (Wright *et al.*, 2003: 18). At present, therefore, by focusing almost exclusively upon the sporting lives of young people, and failing to examine the interrelationships between the sport and leisure aspects of lifestyles, the study does not appear likely to provide a thorough examination of young people's lives 'in the round'.

This shortcoming is shared by two more recent studies of the lifestyles of young Europeans (Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Telama *et al.*, 2005), both of which are also based on a one-sided perception of young people's lives; that is, in stressing the sporting dimensions of youth lifestyles, the leisure and other aspects of those lifestyles remain very much under-explored. Thus, in an attempt to appreciate more adequately young people's non-sporting lives, the next section examines briefly some other aspects of young people's leisure that have received considerable attention in

the British popular press recently and, more importantly, have emerged as prominent themes in the sociology of youth and leisure over the past two or three decades.

Young people's leisure lifestyles

Young people and media use

Set in the context of complex processes of the commercialization and globalization of various forms of media (see, for example, Livingstone, 2002; Roberts, 2004), there has over the past three or four decades been growing concern in many countries over what has been described as 'young people's media-driven lifestyles' (Miles, 2000: 78). In Britain, for example, there has been a longstanding concern about the media-oriented lifestyles of many young people that became increasingly apparent in the 1960s – when fear began to be expressed over the emergence of a so-called 'TV generation' of youngsters. Since then there have been fluctuations from decade to decade: the 1970s witnessed 'the video generation' while in the 1980s, concern was expressed over the advance of 'the Nintendo generation'. Since the 1990s, anxiety about the impact of media on youth has revolved around supposed 'problems' surrounding the emergence of a so-called 'Internet generation' of 'computer kids' (see Livingstone, 2002) who, the argument goes, are leading increasingly sedentary 'couch-potato' lifestyles (BHF, 2000, 2004).

It is clear that media are an important aspect of young people's daily lives. This has led to fears in the academic and popular press about the extent to which the time allocated by young people to their use of electronic media in their leisure may have displaced the time once spent on more physically active pursuits such as participation in sport and physical activity (Balding, 2006; Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004;

Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Fisher, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004; Sturm, 2004). Although it has been estimated that on average young people devote 35-40% of their leisure time to media use, 'excessive' TV viewing in particular, has been singled out as one of the most popular sedentary activities among young people that has increasingly come to be viewed as characteristic of many young people's media-oriented lifestyles (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Fisher, 2002; HEA, 1999; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004).

In short, while there are many complex variations between young people, and groups of youngsters (see, for example, Livingstone, 2002), available data suggest that, of the estimated five hours young people in Britain devote to media use each school day, approximately two and a half to three hours of this is spent watching TV (including cable and satellite channels), while a smaller proportion of youngsters in Britain and several other European countries, as well as the USA, have reported spending four hours each school day doing so (Balding, 2006; Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; HEA, 1999; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004). It is also clear that although TV viewing increases at weekends (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004) and is a universal leisure activity among young people and is sex- and age-independent (Balding, 2006; Roberts, 2004), younger teenagers and those from lower down the social hierarchy tend to watch more TV and for longer periods of time than older ones and those from higher up the social strata (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Livingstone, 2002). While this might appear to suggest that youngsters allocate a significant proportion of

their leisure time to watching TV, it is noteworthy that the estimates noted above have not risen greatly to be well above those levels reported when TV was first introduced in Britain in the 1950s. The point is that more young people are now watching TV largely because they have greater access to them (Biddle *et al.*, 2004).

A second common assumption both in the academic and popular media is that young people, particularly males, have increased considerably their use of computers and the playing of video games to the extent that they are widely-believed to command significant proportions of their leisure time (BHF, 2000, 2004; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004). On the whole, the evidence indicates that males, particularly those from lower down the social hierarchy and those aged 9-14 (although those in older age groups also spend significant amounts of time doing so), tend to spend significantly more time playing computer games, using the Internet and playing video games, compared to females, who are more likely to use them for homework (Balding, 2006; Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Livingstone, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004). Among the UK youth in Marshall *et al.*'s (2002) study, for example, approximately one third (31%) of both boys and girls reported that they did not use computers or the Internet each week, while they also reported similar patterns of usage between one and seven hours (58% and 64%, respectively) and for seven hours and more (5% and 11%, respectively). By contrast, use of video games was significantly higher amongst young males than females with just under half (48%) of males (35% females) allocating between one hour and seven hours to video games, while one quarter (24%, 4% females) used computers for video games for more than seven hours per week (Marshall *et al.*, 2002).

Notwithstanding the fact that the large proportions of time that many young people allocate to TV viewing and computer and video games have typically been identified by some as two of the main 'causes' of obesity and overweight among young people, and as key characteristics of their leisure lifestyles more generally, this is misleading for several reasons. First, as Marshall *et al.* (2002: 413) have noted, 'youth sedentariness is multifaceted and cannot be accurately represented by one measure such as TV viewing' and, in that regard, the preoccupation with single sedentary behaviours neglects the fact that when one explores further the leisure interests of young people and the rest of their lives which are, in fact, very complex, it becomes readily apparent that many other activities can be viewed as contributing to overall levels of sedentariness (such as listening to music, 'hanging around' with friends, doing homework, talking on the telephone) (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Fisher, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Smith and Green, 2005). Second, while the available data indicate that the time allocated by young people to media use has remained roughly the same over the past few decades, it seems that youngsters have reallocated their media use away from radio and reading books and other such activities, towards more popular things such as TV, talking on the telephone (especially mobile phones) and using computers (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004).

It is also worthy of note, however, that although many young people may have reallocated the time in which they spend using media towards such things as TV and computers during their leisure, this is not to say that listening to music, for example, is no longer a more-or-less central aspect of youth lifestyles (Bennett, 2000, 2005; Miles, 2000; Roberts, 2004; Shilling, 2005). Rather, in conjunction with the growing

commercialization of leisure and development of communication technologies generally during the years following the Second World War (Bennett, 2000, 2005), the development of the audio-visual and entertainment markets has meant that there are an increasing number of brands or 'styles' of music – for example, 'one of the retros, technos, metals, garage, goth, acid, house/dance compilations, reggae and so on' (Roberts, 2004: 134) – from which young people can select. This diversification in the brands or styles of music that are used in a variety of different ways in a diverse range of contexts has been accompanied by a growth in the ways that young people – indeed, all people – are able to listen to popular music, with the development of specialist TV music and radio stations, CDs, DVDs and 'download' formats, and new digital technologies such as the iPod and MP3 players all providing young people with a wider variety of ways of listening to music, often in a more individualized and personalized manner than formerly (Bennett, 2000, 2005; Bull, 2005; Shilling, 2005).

Popular music remains central to many young people's lives and is often 'a wide source of everyday leisure for a majority' (Bennett, 2005: 338). That this is the case is further suggested by the findings of the *Young People New Media Project* (Livingstone, 2002) which indicated that, on average, young people listen to music at least five days per week for around one and a quarter hours per day, and while girls are more likely to do so, the proportion of young people listening to music and the time spent doing so increases across the adolescent years, but particularly among 15-17-year-olds when time spent listening increases to around two hours per day (Livingstone, 2002). Popular music also forms the backdrop to a variety of other leisure activities that are often done in the company of like-minded friends, including visiting shopping centres, sports clubs, cinemas and restaurants. Popular music is also

played in many pubs and bars, whilst 'clubbing' – is 'probably ... the definitive youth, or young singles, leisure activity' (Roberts, 2004: 136) in recent years – is one of the more obvious ways in which listening to music continues to form a central aspect of many young people's leisure (Bennett, 2000, 2005; Roberts, 2004; Shilling, 2005).

Although a lot more could be said about the place of media within young people's lives, it is clear from the available evidence that 'young people construct diverse lifestyles from a mix of different media, rarely if ever making use of just one medium' (Livingstone, 2002: 15). More particularly, and contrary to popular wisdom, rather than making exclusive use of one particular form of media (such as TV or computers) in their everyday lives:

> it seems that teenagers are incorporating new media into their peer-networks, using both face-to-face and online communication, visiting each others' houses to talk about and play computer games just as they visited and swapped comics a generation before, using new media to supplement rather than displace existing activities (Livingstone, 2002: 7).

Despite the considerable development in the range of media available to young people in recent years however, it should be noted that television and music remain the media most widely used by youngsters on a daily basis, with 'newer' forms of media (such as computer games, DVDs, PCs, iPods and the Internet) adding to the repertoire of leisure activities from which youngsters are able to choose and use as a means of constructing and expressing their own individual identity (Bennett, 2000, 2005; Livingstone, 2002; Miles, 2000; Shilling, 2005).

In all of these and other respects it is quite clear that youth lifestyles are, indeed, becoming increasingly media-oriented. However, rather than dwelling, as many commentators have done, on the supposed 'negative' consequences of these developments, it is worth briefly examining what young people use media for, within the overall context of their lifestyles. Among other things, it appears that various forms of media help to play 'a key role in young people's identity formation and peer culture' (Livingstone, 2002: 16). In other words, it seems that, in the context of actively seeking to construct more-or-less individualized lifestyles, 'young people combine media and non-media leisure activities in particular ways' (Livingstone, 2002: 78) that help to express their individuality and help to construct their identities according to particular tastes or lifestyles that are often considered socially desirable by the peer-groups with which they are most closely associated and in which they invest so much time (Livingstone, 2002; Miles, 2000; Shilling, 2005).

Indeed, despite the significance of media as a more-or-less central aspect of youth lifestyles and the long-term processes (such as the commercialization of leisure) that have been associated with the trend towards the 'multiplication and diversification of media that are largely used individually' (Livingstone, 2002: 23), it appears that for many young people media use is not viewed as being as important or as valued as spending time with friends and enjoying other forms of sociability. As Livingstone (2002: 108) has noted, it seems that many young people, contrary to popular concern, 'would still generally prefer to spend time with their friends' than using the media; doing so in order 'to fill the boring gaps in their day, and so gaining something in common to discuss with friends or do with their parents' (Livingstone, 2002: 108). Put another way, far from encouraging young people to withdraw from the wider

social networks of relations they have with friends in particular (Roberts, 2004), young people appear to be using various forms of media as an additional means of further encouraging face-to-face relations with friends and others. For example, while the rapid development of the mobile phone and online communication such as MSN Messenger that are widely considered as evidence of the increasing tendency of young people towards adopting more privatized and home-centred leisure lifestyles (Elias and Dunning, 1986; Roberts, 2004; Rojek, 1985), it appears that 'texting', mobile phones and online communications of this kind 'seem less likely to replace than to add a new dimension to, and maybe facilitate frequent, face-to-face encounters' (Roberts, 2004: 152) between young people, their friends, parents and so on. That is, young people often use these forms of media as an alternative way of communicating a variety of messages to those with whom they are (or not, as the case may be in some circumstances) familiar on a face-to-face basis, with the underlying intention often being to develop and maintain social relations with others.

Having considered some aspects of young people's media-oriented and privatized leisure lifestyles, the next section examines the out-of-home leisure lives of young people that have received considerable attention within the academic and popular media.

Young people and out-of-home leisure

This section takes as its starting point the suggestion that as young people grow older and continuously develop their own sport and leisure-based 'personal and collective identities' (Dunning, 1996: 188), friends become increasingly important figures in, and constraints upon, the kinds of leisure activities (including sport and physical

activity) in which they are involved (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Cotterell, 1996; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Roberts, 1999). More specifically, as many youngsters move through childhood and the teens they tend to move away from engaging in family leisure activities and more informally organized street-based leisure pursuits towards using more commercially-oriented youth leisure provisions (such as going shopping and to pubs, clubs and parties, cinemas and visiting friends) of the kinds that tend to characterize later adolescence and beyond and where *sociability* would appear to be of primary importance (Bynner, 2001; Dunning, 1996; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Roberts, 1999, 2004). The sociability that is recurrently generated among young people in the context of the consumption of drugs of both a legal and illegal kind will be discussed in detail later. Before doing so, however, it is worth outlining some of the main developments in youth lifestyles that have been shown to have factually occurred in conjunction with, among other processes, the 'burgeoning of commercialized youth leisure provision in the past decade or so' (Karvonen *et al.*, 2001: 396).

It is important to note that more recent changes in youth lifestyles can be understood adequately only by locating these within the longer-term changes associated with youth cultures that pre-date 1945 (see, for example, Bennett, 2000; Hall *et al.*, 1978; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Roberts, 1996b, 1999) and the process of becoming a young person; in particular, the rise of a specifically teenage or youth leisure market and the various youth lifestyles that have risen during the years following the Second World War.

Youth cultures, street-based leisure and the development of commercialized youth leisure provision

As Roberts (1983, 1999), among others (see, for example, Bennett, 2000; Dunning *et al.*, 1988; Willis, 1977), has noted, there was little commercial leisure targeted at young people during the inter-war years and, consequently, many young people – particularly those who were drawn from further down the social hierarchy, and especially young males – spent much of their spare time hanging around the streets with friends. At this time – though the point would apply equally well now – the presence of groups of teenagers 'on the streets' (some of whom may have been drinking, smoking and using drugs illegally) were often regarded by the media and public as troublesome or 'at risk'. One consequence of this tended was the generation of feelings of anxiety and fear among the public about the supposed 'dangers' young people posed to the wider community, particularly in relation to levels of crime and delinquency (Cohen, 1972; Cotterell, 1996; Dunning *et al.*, 1988; Hall *et al.*, 1978; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Roberts, 1983, 1999; Willis, 1977). Such concern was intensified further in conjunction with the emergence, after the Second World War, of Teddy Boys and, later on, Mods and Rockers whom, it was perceived, posed considerable threat to the social order and 'civilization' more generally (Bennett, 2000; Cohen, 1972; Dunning, 1999; Roberts, 1999). Whilst the media, as Cohen (1972) has noted, played – indeed, continues to play – an important part in focusing public attention upon the supposed problems associated with these new youth cultures (Cohen, 1972), there was a rapid expansion during the 1960s in the commercial leisure opportunities (especially music and clothing) available to young people who were largely, though by no means exclusively, males from the working classes (Dunning, 1999; Dunning *et al.*, 1988; Hall *et al.*, 1978; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Roberts, 1996b, 1999). Such commercial leisure opportunities, Roberts (1999: 122)

argues, enabled the young people of the time 'to establish adult identities and play adult sexual roles at younger ages than their pre-war counterparts' and also helped to reproduce the gender and class divisions of the time.

Notwithstanding the fluctuations from year to year in the ways in which young people spent their leisure, Roberts (1999: 122) has noted that although 'it is always important not to lose sight of the continuities ... there have been a number of trends which suggest youth cultures in the 1990s are not basically just the same as in the 1950s and 1960s'. Central among these trends has been 'a shift in the gender balance of young people's leisure activities over the course of the 1990s' (Sweeting and West, 2003: 393) and a similar blurring of social class and age divisions (Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 1999), all of which are related to the slowly changing balance of power between the sexes, social classes and, of particular significance, the generations (Dunning, 1999; Dunning *et al.*, 1988; Elias, 1978; Kilminster, 1998; Mennell, 1998). In the light of this, the following passages will briefly summarize some of the more recent and salient trends in youth lifestyles over the past decade or so.

According to Sweeting and West (2003: 391), over the course of the 1990s there have been significant 'changes in the gender patterning of young people's leisure, use of public space and risk taking (as represented by substance use)'. More particularly, the findings of Sweeting and West's (2003) longitudinal study of leisure and risk-taking behaviours among 15-year-old Scottish youth between 1987 and 1999, revealed significant increases in youngsters' participation in looking round the shops and going to the cinema (among males and females), listening to music (particularly females) and playing computer games (primarily males), alongside smaller increases

in watching and playing sport (males), meeting friends, and going to discos, clubs, gigs and concerts (males and females). In all of these respects, such increases are significantly related to, among other processes, the commercialization of youth sport and leisure provisions, the expansion of cable and satellite television sports provision, the development of multiplex facilities and shopping malls as well as the growth of the availability of audio-visual technology (particularly computer games, DVDs, CDs and MP3s) (Bennett, 2000, 2005; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Roberts, 2004; Shilling, 2005; Sweeting and West, 2003).

It is noteworthy that while both males and females have become increasingly involved in commercial forms of leisure outside of the home, the slight change in the balance of power between males and females in favour of the latter (Dunning, 1999) may help to explain why, over the course of the last decade or so, 'home-based activities have reduced among girls and young women but increased among boys and young men' (Sweeting and West, 2003: 406). More specifically, it appears that young women – particularly those from lower down the social hierarchy – are now more likely to spend large portions of their time involved in street-based forms of leisure that were formerly male-dominated to a large degree, and which is positively associated with legal and illegal drug use. Males, on the hand, are spending significantly more time 'indoors' playing on computers and watching sports as well as visiting shopping centres (Karvonen *et al.*, 2001; Roberts, 1983, 1999; Sweeting and West, 2003). In addition to these commercialized youth leisure provisions, it is worth exploring in more detail two other aspects of young people's commercialized lifestyles that are currently the focus of particular attention and concern among

government and the media, namely, their consumption of drugs of both a legal and illegal kind.

Young people and the use of drugs

In Britain, as elsewhere, the last decade or so has witnessed growing interest in a number of observed changes in young people's patterns of legal drug consumption – that is, of alcohol and tobacco – as well as their use of illegal drugs (including recreational drugs such as cannabis), not least because of the perceived risks this has for youngsters' health (Brettschneider and Naul, 2004; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Strategy Unit, 2003; WHO, 2002). Although there are numerous difficulties involved in trying to arrive at a precise estimate of the extent of young people's use of legal and illegal dugs – not least because of the diverse methodologies employed – the data seem to indicate that when compared to the 1970s and 1980s, which were characterized as decades of apparent stability in young people's use of drugs of various kinds (Miller and Plant, 2001; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002), the frequency with which they are consumed has increased since the early 1990s (particularly among young women) and has stabilized during the early years of the twenty-first century (Balding, 2006; Miller and Plant, 2001; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001). With this caveat in mind, it is worth examining, in the first instance, young people's 'use of the most widely used drugs in western societies, namely tobacco and alcohol' (Dunning and Waddington, 2003: 354) as well as what we are coming to know about the place of such drugs in their lives.

Young people and smoking

According to Denscombe (2001a: 157), there has been 'a marked increase in smoking over the last decade amongst the teenage population of Britain', particularly amongst young women and older teenagers, although there is now evidence to suggest that levels of smoking among 15- and 16-year-olds have stabilized (Miller and Plant, 2001). Nevertheless, it is clear that the incidence and frequency of smoking increases with age among young people. For example, in a study of 10,407 secondary aged pupils in England, the HEA (1999) noted that 4% of 11-year-olds claiming to be current smokers compared to 36% of 15-16-year-olds, while more females than males were current smokers and were more likely to smoke everyday. Balding (2006) has also noted that smoking levels among school-aged youngsters in his annual study of *Young People* have increased since 1988 but have since stabilized, with more females than males claiming to be former and current smokers, and the number of regular smokers – the majority of whom smoke more than 25 cigarettes each week – more than tripling between Year 8 and Year 10 (12-15-year-olds). Similarly, in a recent national survey of *Smoking, Drinking and Drug Use among Young People in England in 2004* (NCSR/NFER, 2004) in which approximately 10,800 young people (aged 11-15-years-old) were questioned on the frequency and prevalence of their consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and illegal drugs, it was reported that those aged 15 were significantly more likely to report being regular smokers (defined as smoking at least one cigarette each week) than 11-year-olds (21% and 1% respectively), with 15-year-old females (26%) more likely than males (16%) of the same age claiming to do so (NCSR/NFER, 2004). Overall, data from these and other studies (see, for example, Balding, 2006; Denscombe, 2001a, 2001b; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Pavis *et al.*, 1998; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001) have clearly and consistently

demonstrated that females are more likely than males to smoke, as are older than younger adolescents, and those young people from lower down the social classes are more likely to smoke than those in higher groupings.

These points notwithstanding, there is a need to examine 'the meaning which smoking holds for young people' (Denscombe, 2001a: 161) and to locate these behaviours within the context of the rest of their lives, for youth is often a life-stage characterized by experimentation with smoking cigarettes, as well as alcohol and illegal drugs (Bell *et al.*, 1999; Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Pavis *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 1998). Many young people often begin and experiment with smoking for a variety of reasons during early adolescence in more informal, unsupervized leisure contexts (such as 'hanging around' with friends in local parks and streets as well as on the way to and from school). However, as they grow older, and in conjunction with broader developments in their occupational and educational status during mid-to-late adolescence and thereafter, there is a growing preference among many young people for pursuing more commercial leisure activities (such as pub-going where socializing with friends is often a key concern) that consolidates, by degrees, young people's smoking patterns (Bell *et al.*, 1999; Pavis *et al.*, 1998). In this regard, it seems clear that, as have observed, for many young people one of the greatest appeals of 'drinking and smoking (is) that these (are) *social* activities conducted with friends' (Pavis *et al.*, 1998: 1417; emphasis added). More specifically, for the young people in their study, Pavis *et al.* (1998: 1417) concluded that:

> smoking and drinking were strongly associated with the behaviour of friends, the use of leisure time and change in disposable income. It was those young people whose core friendship group smoked and/or drank regularly, whose social life revolved around pubs or clubs and whose income had risen who were most likely to have increased tobacco or alcohol consumption.

In a more recent study of young people in the East Midlands of England, Denscombe (2001a, 2001b) has noted that among the central reasons for why the young people, and especially young women, in his study smoked was a concern for 'looking grown up' and 'looking cool' in the company of friends, whilst Balding (2006: 70) has also noted that close friends are the 'chief smoking contact' for most youngsters. In other words, smoking is often a way in which young people endeavour to demonstrate and assert control over their lives. In this regard, smoking is often considered to be a 'lifestyle choice' by many young people that enables them to engage with particular friendship groups, as well as allowing them to 'cope with the paradox of the felt need to "fit in" and the felt need to "stick out" in terms of individuality and self-expression' (Denscombe, 2001b: 26). In this regard, smoking – and, as highlighted below, drinking and the use of illegal drugs – often forms 'part of the available repertoires that young people draw upon to actively construct their personal and social identities' (Pavis *et al.*, 1998: 1416) in the company of friends who may or may not be smokers (Denscombe, 2001a, 2001b).

Young people and alcohol

While the levels of youth smoking remain an issue for government and the focus of media attention in Britain (see, for example, Thompson and Goodchild, 2005; Thompson and Woolf, 2005), there has been an even greater 'largely media-generated public concern or even panic about teenage drinking' (Foxcroft and Lowe, 1997: 215). In the light of the claim that 15-16-year-olds in Britain are said to have the highest levels of alcohol consumption in Europe (EMCDDA, 2005; ESPAD, 2000) concern of this kind is not entirely surprising, for over the last decade or so there have been a number of marked changes in the alcohol consumption of young people,

especially 13 and 24 years-olds (Harnett *et al.*; 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998). These changes have included not only an increase in the amount of alcohol that many young people consume weekly, but also a correlative increase and diversification in the kinds of alcohol consumed, namely, towards drinking high-strength bottled lagers or so-called 'designer drinks' or 'alcopops' such as 'Bacardi Breezers', 'WKD' and 'Smirnoff Ice' – alongside the continuing popularity of standard-strength beer, lager and cider as well as spirits and fortified wines – and a higher incidence in the level of intoxication, known as 'binge drinking' (Balding, 2006; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Miller and Plant, 2003a; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 2004; Williams and Parker, 2001). More specifically, although the drinking patterns of people generally, and young people in particular, vary over time and space and are more complex than is commonly assumed, over the past decade or so, beer, lager and cider have remained the most widely-consumed alcoholic beverages by many more young men than young women – who are in turn significantly more likely to drink wine and spirits as well as alcopops (now the second most widely drunk drink overall) that are also drunk by significant proportions of males (Balding, 2006; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Miller and Plant, 2003a; Parker *et al.*, 1998).

The findings of a recent national survey of youth drinkers (NCSR/NFER, 2004), for example, reported that 23% of 11-15-year-old males and females had drunk alcohol in the last week, although this increased significantly from 4% at age 11 (5% males; 3% females) to 46% at age 15 (23% males; 23% females). Consistent with the findings of Parker *et al.* (1998) among others (see, for example, Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Strategy Unit, 2003), there was a tendency among more males (19%) than females (16%) to drink at least once a week. Moreover, in its

review of those studies that have explored the use of alcohol by the British population generally, the Strategy Unit (2003: 17) has reported that 'most alcohol use amongst school-age children occurs amongst the oldest age groups' with approximately one half of 15-year-old males and females typically drinking alcohol each week. The study also suggested that those aged 16-24-years (especially males) typically reported the highest weekly consumption of alcohol that tends to be based around two or three days of the week and were most likely to take the form of so-called 'binge-drinking'; a finding confirmed elsewhere in the literature (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Miller and Plant, 2001, 2003a; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Plant *et al.*, 2002; Williams and Parker, 2001).

Although 'binge-drinking' is said to be 'most characteristic of the young' (Strategy Unit, 2003: 20) and is strongly associated with, among other things, 'clubbing' and regular (particularly Friday and Saturday evenings) attendance at theme pubs (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Roberts, 2004), not all young people demonstrate this type of behaviour in their leisure. As the Strategy Unit (2003) itself, and others (see, for example, Harnett *et al.*, 2000) have shown, the incidence of drinking among young people is structured according to the interdependence between gender, social class, ethnicity and 'race' as well as geographical and occupational influences. At the risk of over-simplifying what are in reality more complex processes, it seems that young people (especially males) are more likely to drink in excess of recommended guidelines than are women – although this has increased among young women over the past decade – while youngsters from many non-white backgrounds, particularly those from Asian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds,

are less likely to drink alcohol and where they do it tends to be in smaller quantities and less frequently than their white counterparts (Strategy Unit, 2003; WHO, 2002).

In the light of these data, it seems clear that drinking alcohol has become a near universal leisure activity among many youngsters and 'an established part of their leisure-time socialising by the time they (are) old enough to drink legally in pubs and clubs' (Parker *et al.*, 1998: 81). Indeed, in their study of drug use among young people in the north-west of England – the findings of which might be generalized to many youngsters – Parker *et al.* (1998) reported that, as they passed through their teen years, there was a correlative increase in the proportion of young people who were formerly occasional drinkers (that is, drinking less than once a month) usually at their own home or those of friends as well as local streets and parks, that had become regular (weekly) drinkers by aged 16. For many young people drinking alcohol for the first time begins at home under parental supervision during the early teenage years (Balding, 2006); indeed as Foxcroft and Lowe (1997: 227) have noted, 'the family is the primary context for the socialization of drinking behaviour in young people'. Whilst for other young people – particularly young males and those from lower down the social hierarchy – local streets and parks are unsupervised contexts in which they drink in the early teenage years (Balding, 2006; Miller and Plant, 2003a; Parker *et al.*, 1998), it is from around ages 15 and 16 when many begin to place greater importance and value upon drinking at parties, in pubs (particularly theme pubs that are primarily marketed towards young people and young singles) and clubs as a means of socializing with friends (Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miller and Plant, 2003a; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 2004; Sweeting and West, 2003). In Parker *et al.*'s (1998, 2002) study, for example, 68% of 16-year-olds and 80% of those aged 18 were

regular pub and club drinkers compared to 17% of 14-year-olds, and usually drank two or three times each week – typically at weekends – with friends in pubs and clubs in particular (see also, Egginton *et al.*, 2002; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Parker and Williams, 2003; Williams and Parker, 2001).

In relation to the reasons why young people drink alcohol, as with the use of illegal drugs such as cannabis, many youngsters appear to do so in part because of the sociability that is recurrently generated in such contexts; that is to say, drinking facilitates something upon which they place particular value and enjoy: socializing with friends (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Williams, 2003; Shilling, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001). Many studies have also indicated that through the loosening of emotional self-restraint that frequently accompanies the drinking of alcohol (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Shilling, 2005), many young people positively value the extent to which drinking helps them in their quest for experiencing an emotional 'buzz' or 'high' in the presence of others. The capacity of alcohol to generate greater feelings of self-confidence and excitement on a relatively high level of overt emotionality that is the essence of leisure sociability, and its ability to help them relax and 'chill out', are also central to young people's reported motivations for drinking (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Williams, 2003; Shilling, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001).

In this regard, drinking alcohol provides, like many other leisure activities, young people with opportunities to counter the emotional staleness characteristic of their

lives in modern Western societies that are highly routinized and impersonal, and for raising the level of overt emotionality in the company of friends and peers (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). It is also clear that although alcohol is only one of a range of possible drugs in young people's lifestyles and repertoires, it remains one of the most frequently used drugs among many young people and is 'favoured by many because it is relatively cheap, legal, tolerated (and even facilitated) by many of their peers ... and is associated with youthful socialising and celebrating centring on pubs and clubs' (Parker *et al.*, 1998: 70).

Young people and illegal drugs

Alongside the public concern regarding youth drinking and smoking, there has also been increased publicity for what has been described as 'widespread drug use amongst large numbers of ... young people' (Parker *et al.*, 1998: 1). In one recent national survey, for example, approximately one-third of 15-year-olds (33% males; 32% females) had taken drugs in the last year and one-fifth (21% males; 20% females) had used drugs in the last month (NCSR/NFER, 2004).

It is within this context that there has, over the last decade, been a sustained effort to establish accurate estimates of the prevalence of drug use by young people on a local (Parker *et al.*, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Shiner and Newburn, 1997; Wibberley and Price, 2000; Williams and Parker, 2001), national (HEA, 1999; NCSR/NFER, 2004) and international level (EMCDDA, 2005). Despite the methodological differences between these studies, currently available data indicate that drug trying begins to rise with age from the early adolescent years into the early twenties, before levelling off thereafter (EMCDDA, 2005; Parker *et al.*,

2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Williams and Parker, 2001). Parker and colleagues, for example, have noted that in their sample of young people in the north-west of England, those who reported trying at least one drug increased from 36% at aged 14 to 65% at age 18, with cannabis the drug most likely to be tried followed by amylnitrates, amphetamines and ecstasy – the latter increasing especially rapidly from age 16 onwards (Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002). Indeed, cannabis is persistently found to be the most widely-used recreational drug among young people in many countries, and is the drug that is most likely to be offered to them (see, for example, Balding, 2006; EMCDDA, 2005; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Shildrick, 2002). The latest ESPAD survey, for example, revealed that cannabis was the most commonly used illegal drug among young people aged 15-34, and was higher among males than females, in the EU Member States, candidate counties and Norway (EMCDDA, 2005). Data from the UK revealed that two-fifths (43%) of 15-34-year-olds reported lifetime prevalence of cannabis, 18% had used amphetamines at least once, 13% reported lifetime prevalence of ecstasy, and 11% had taken cocaine at least once in their life (EMCDDA, 2005). Among 15- and 16-year-olds, 38% reported lifetime prevalence of cannabis, 31% had used the drug in the past year, 20% reported using cannabis in the last month, and twice as many males (13%) than females (6%) also reported having used cannabis 40 or more times in their life (EMCDDA, 2005).

In England, Parker and colleagues have also noted that approximately two-fifths of 15-and 16-year-olds in the north-west reported ever using cannabis, whilst approximately one-quarter reported doing so each month (22% 15-year-olds; 25% 16-year-olds). By contrast, just under one half (48%) of 18-year-olds reported ever using

cannabis, and three-in-ten (31%) claimed to use the drug monthly (Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker *et al.*, 2002). In another five-year longitudinal study of drug use among young people in Greater Manchester in the north-west of England, Roy *et al.* (2005) reported that 54% of 15-16-year-olds in 2001 had ever tried cannabis, the most regularly consumed illegal drug, three-in-ten claimed to use cannabis at least once per month, and 17% of youngsters reported using the drug at least once per week. The study also revealed that lifetime, monthly and weekly use of cannabis had increased during the time that the study was conducted, and that the drug was considered by two-thirds of young people to be a low/very low health risk compared to other 'harder' and more 'dangerous' drugs such as ecstasy and cocaine (Roy *et al.*, 2005).

Notwithstanding these variations in the kinds of drugs that young people consume, there are similarly wide variations in the amount and kinds of drugs that *particular groups* of young people use. While this cannot be discussed in great detail in this context, it seems that young people who are drawn from lower down the social hierarchy in England tend to demonstrate higher drug trying and use rates up to mid-adolescence, a point when greater proportions of youngsters from more middle-class backgrounds begin to experiment and use drugs of various kinds (Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002). Thus, while there is evidence to suggest that the former are 'most likely to use a wider range of drugs on a more regular basis' (Shildrick, 2002: 46), the growing propensity of the latter for using drugs later in the adolescent years has lead Parker *et al.* (1998: 88) to conclude that 'young people from all social backgrounds are now, broadly speaking, likely to try drugs during their adolescence', with those youngsters from Asian backgrounds more likely to abstain from trying drugs

compared to their white and black counterparts, between which there are no differences. It is also apparent that higher rates of illegal drug-use, particularly of cannabis, are found among young people living in single-parent and lower-income families, whilst those who have friends and older siblings that use cannabis being significantly more likely to report personal cannabis use and use of drugs other than cannabis (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Miller and Plant, 2003; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Williams and Parker, 2001). The data also suggest, moreover, that young recreational drugs users are as likely to be female as male, while those groups of young people among whom drug use tends to be most prevalent are clubbers, of which large numbers are apparently 'immensely drug experienced with lifetime rates of trying cannabis at nearly 100 percent, rates for amphetamines, LSD and ecstasy in the 60-90 percent range, with cocaine slightly lower but raising' (Parker *et al.*, 2002: 945). In summary, while it is difficult to arrive at precise estimates of the prevalence of drug use among young people, Parker *et al.* (2002: 945) have suggested that:

> On the measures we have ... it appears that 10-15 percent of late adolescents are recent, regular recreational drug users, with this proportion rising to 20-25 percent amongst young adults. This drug use is dominated by cannabis taking but with perhaps around 10 percent of the 18-25 year old population using stimulant drugs, primarily amphetamines, ecstasy and cocaine recreationally, mainly at weekends.

That has led Parker *et al.* (2002: 959) to conclude that 'recreational drug use is continuing to be gradually further accommodated into the lifestyles of ordinary young Britons' and that, in this context, for many young people drug use has become increasingly normalized; that is to say, there is a growing propensity among young people for using illegal drugs as well as being more 'drug wise' and accepting of drug use than formerly (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Williams and Parker, 2001).

The proposition that the use of illegal drugs has become a normalized aspect of young people's lives has been criticized by a number of parties (see, for example, Shiner and Newburn, 1997; Shildrick, 2002; Wibberley and Price, 2000). Writing of the early work of Parker and colleagues, Shiner and Newburn (1997: 519), for example, have noted that:

> even though there is clear evidence of increasing levels of drug use among young people, both the extent and frequency are easily exaggerated through over-reliance on lifetime measures ... when shorter time-frame measures are utilised, strong evidence for the normalisation thesis is even more elusive ... Moreover ... convincing support for the normalisation thesis would not only require evidence that drug use is extremely widespread, but that usage is perceived to be normal.

In support of their criticisms, Shiner and Newburn (1997) cite data from their own study of the meaning of drug use in the lives of 52 15-16 year-olds in the deprived London borough of Newham. While the sample used was small, only 15 of 52 had ever used drugs, 12 of whom had only ever taken cannabis which was the most widely and frequently used drug and which the youngsters perceived as being relatively 'safe' to use. On the basis of their data and those from the studies they review, Shiner and Newburn have concluded that, in contrast to the aforementioned claims made by Parker and colleagues in support of a normalization of drug use among young people:

> Cannabis is, by some way, the most widely and frequently used drug by young people and, although use of dance/rave drugs has increased significantly in recent years, it still appears to be limited to *a relatively small minority of young people.* Reflecting their status as 'hard drugs', cocaine and heroin are very rarely used (1997: 526; emphases added).

In another study, Wibberley and Price (2000) examined the drug use of 1,067 15-16 year olds in various schools in Greater Manchester and found that, consistent with the

findings of previous research, cannabis was the illegal drug that was most likely to have ever been tried (51%), used in the last month (28%), at least once a week or more (16%) and everyday (9%), followed by poppers (31% ever used; 7% in the last month), amphetamine (17% ever used; 25% of the ever used group taken in last month), solvents (12% ever used; 2% in the last month) and LSD (10% ever used; 24% of the ever used group taken in last month). These data, they argued, suggest that while the situation may change as the young people get older, 'there is only weak evidence that normalization, even of cannabis use, is true for young people towards the end of their compulsory schooling' (Wibberley and Price, 2000: 161). More particularly, they claimed that:

> it would seem true to state that it is becoming increasingly common and so perhaps normal for young people to have tried an illegal drug in the form of cannabis, and/or to a far lesser extent one of the psycho-stimulants or 'dance drugs'. However, it would also seem true to say that the use of illegal drugs, by individual young people, does not occur on a particularly frequent basis for a large proportion of young people. Thus, if normalization is being argued for on the basis of drug use being a normal and regular part of young people's lives, then the evidence is far from conclusive (Wibberley and Price, 2000: 149).

Thus, despite the relatively small samples used, it has been suggested that such findings ought to sound a warning against any tendency towards simplistic assumptions about the supposed normalization of the use of illegal drugs in young people's lives (Shildrick, 2002; Shiner and Newburn, 1997; Wibberley and Price, 2000). Indeed, it *would* be inadequate to suggest that all young people could be described as users of illegal drugs, not least because it is particularly difficult 'to determine exactly the numbers of young people who ... (take) illicit drugs' (Shildrick, 2002: 37) and to capture the processual character of young people's drug use by relying on point-in-time measures. Nevertheless, it is apparent from studies conducted in several countries that the use of illegal drugs has increased since the

1990s and become a part of the lives of *some* young people in Britain (EMCDDA, 2005; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002), and has 'long been associated with ebbing and flowing changes in youth culture' (Shildrick, 2002: 37), the emergence of the dance/rave scene, in Britain, in the mid to late 1980s, and the development of other late night youth-oriented venues such as wine bars, night clubs and theme pubs (Parker *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 2004; Shildrick, 2002).

Conclusion

It has been suggested in this chapter that there has been a pervasive tendency in the sociological study of youth, sport and leisure to examine what are, in fact, the various facets of young people's multi-dimensional lives in isolation, alongside a failure to locate the place of sport and physical activity within the complexities of those lives. Thus, in relation to the present study that seeks to engage in the actualities and realities of young people's experiences, one critical question requires particular consideration: is it the same or entirely different young people who are engaged in the kinds of leisure activities reviewed above and elsewhere in the sociologies of sport, leisure, youth and health? Might some young people's lives be characterized by participation in sport and physical activity alongside a range or particular combination of other leisure activities? If so, why are young people doing the particular mixture of activities in which they appear to be involved? Conversely, does participating in sport and physical activity prevent young people from engaging simultaneously in more sedentary and media-oriented leisure activities and from consuming legal and illegal drugs? These are important questions to ask particularly when examining – as is the case here – the lives of young people (15- and 16-year-olds) whom are approaching the end of compulsory schooling; a point at which they

are thought to drop out of sport and physical activity and begin to adopt increasingly adult-like lifestyles and behaviours.

Despite the dearth of research on the various interdependencies characteristic of young people's sporting and leisure lives however, there are some – albeit limited – data that begin to shed light on these and related questions. On the basis of their on-going study of *Sedentary Teenagers and Inactive Lifestyles*, for example, Biddle and colleagues (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Marshall *et al.*, 2002) have noted that contrary to popular belief, individual sedentary behaviours (such as watching TV or playing computer games) that are often cited as 'causes' of 'ill-health' among young people because they keep them from being active, 'are not more prevalent than in previous generations, and while they are undeniably popular pastimes among youth, are unlikely to be displacing physical activity' (Biddle *et al.*, 2004: 685). Indeed, perhaps the most important finding of the study thus far is that because physically active behaviours such as participation in sport and physical activity occur at different times of the day than TV viewing and other sedentary pursuits, there is little correlation between sports participation and sedentariness, which suggests that there is time for both in the lives of young people (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Marshall *et al.*, 2002). It is clear, therefore, as Biddle *et al.* (2003: 29) have noted, that 'our pre-conceptions concerning physical activity and sedentary lifestyles in young people ... may be false, or at least need further thought' (Biddle *et al.*, 2003: 29) and that 'current beliefs that certain key sedentary pursuits, including rapid changes in the use of new technologies, are to blame for the couch potato culture'

among young people 'are simplistic and potentially misleading' (Biddle *et al.*, 2003: 30).

It is also apparent that whilst the relationship is relatively unclear, many young people in Britain play sport alongside other leisure pursuits that positively promote drug-use; a good example would be the heavy drinking culture that has traditionally surrounded a number of sports, including rugby and soccer (Dunning, 1999; Dunning and Sheard, 2005; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Sheard and Dunning, 1973), and especially university sport (Bryant, 2006; Hoover, 1999; King, 2000; Reacher, 2004). Indeed, the drink-related university sports subculture is a longstanding one that, along with sport more generally, was traditionally dominated by males but which is now, as a consequence of the slowly changing balance of power between the sexes in favour of women, a subculture that contains several female variants (Dunning and Waddington, 2003). Among other things, this subculture includes, for both males and females, initiation rites and weekly 'social' events that are characterized by the excessive consumption of alcohol and ritualized drinking games (Bryant, 2006; Dunning and Waddington, 2003; Elias and Dunning, 1986; King, 2000; Reacher, 2004; Sheard and Dunning, 1973), the latter of which usually has 'the dual function of, firstly, testing physical prowess and self-control under conditions of advancing inebriation, and, secondly, of increasing the quantities of alcohol consumed' (Dunning and Waddington, 2003: 356).

What is true of sports and young people in Britain appears to be equally true elsewhere. For example, a Finnish study (Koski, 2005) found that young people, particularly young males, who are involved in sports clubs and sports that are

traditionally associated with a strong masculine culture such as ice hockey, boxing and motor sport, are more likely to consume large quantities of alcohol and to be in an advanced state of intoxication each month. In France, Arvers *et al.* (2000) also noted a positive and significant relationship between 'doping products' (such as steroids and stimulants) and sports participation (especially football, swimming and cycling for males, and athletics and swimming for females), whilst those young people who participate in sport also report higher levels of consumption of cannabis, cocaine and heroin. Other studies conducted in France with 14-19-year-old students (Peretti-Watel *et al.*, 2002) and with elite student-athletes (Peretti-Watel *et al.*, 2003, 2004) also indicated that there was a positive association between sports participation (especially team sports) among males and the excessive consumption of alcohol and cannabis use, between cigarette smoking for female athletes, and between cigarette smoking and cannabis use for males and females involved in more individualized sports. Finally, a Canadian study of 14-16-year-olds revealed that, for males and females, there was a positive and significant relationship between participation in team sports, and excessive alcohol consumption and 'binge-drinking', but not for tobacco and cannabis use, which were more widespread amongst those who played individual sports (McCaul *et al.*, 2004).

What is notable about these studies is their focus upon the interdependence between one or two dimensions (such as media use and consumption of alcohol and other drugs as well as sports participation) of young people's (usually older adolescents' and university students') lives, rather than the many and varied of interdependencies that characterise the particular configuration of leisure activities in which they are involved. The following chapter takes as its starting point the assumption that to

understand more adequately the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, then it is essential to examine young people 'in the round', as 'whole selves', as it were, and to examine their involvement in sport and leisure in the context of the dynamic figurations to which they have belonged in the past, and which they continue to form in the present.

Chapter Two

Figurational Sociology and the Sociology of Youth, Sport and Leisure

Introduction

The sociological perspective that forms the theoretical framework for this thesis is that of figurational sociology. Whilst sociology generally – and the sociology of youth, sport and leisure in particular – is multi-paradigmatic, the figurational perspective has become increasingly prominent in sport and, to a lesser extent, leisure. The same cannot, however, be said for the sociology of youth where the figurational perspective and its founding father, Norbert Elias, remain largely unknown (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2005, 2006). This study will reflect the multi-paradigmatic nature of contemporary sociology inasmuch as it will draw upon sociological work – on youth, in particular – from a range of theoretical perspectives. At the same time, however, the chapter will endeavour to demonstrate the particular explanatory power of figurational sociology as a perspective as well as the particular relevance of several key concepts – some of which are particular to figurational sociology, others of which are general sociological concepts – to the study of youth, sport and leisure.

Thus, the main object of this chapter is to consider how much of what Elias and other figurational sociologists have to say might fruitfully be applied to a sociological study of young people's lives and, in particular, the place of sport, physical activity and leisure therein. In effect, the chapter and the rest of this study will reflect a distinctly figurational perspective on a number of sociological themes. In this regard, the following principles – derived from the work of Elias – are taken as points of

departure from the more commonplace theoretical perspectives that inform much of the work in the sociology of youth:

> (1) Human beings are interdependent, in a variety of ways; their lives evolve in, and are significantly shaped by, the social figurations they form with each other. (2) These figurations are continually in flux, undergoing changes of different orders – some quick and ephemeral, others slower but perhaps more lasting. (3) The long-term developments taking place in human social figurations have been and continue to be largely unplanned and unforeseen. (4) The development of human knowledge takes place within human figurations, and forms one important aspect of the over-all development (Goudsblom, 1977: 6).

From this starting point, the chapter focuses upon a number of central, though interrelated, figurational sociological concepts, including: *figurations*; networks of social *interdependencies*; *'blind' social processes* (such as individualization, informalization and democratization) and *unplanned outcomes*; *habitus*; *power*; and the contribution of these to a figurational understanding of youth, sport and leisure.

Conceptualizing young people's relationships

Figurations and the structure - agency dilemma

One of the most important and long-standing concerns of sociologists (see, for example, Elias, 1978; Giddens, 1984; Loyal, 2003) has been the attempt to conceptualize adequately the complex relationship between people and the societies they form whilst also being a part thereof. In this regard, it has become something of an orthodoxy in much sociological writing to distinguish between society ('the structure') and individual ('the agent'). It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that a key concern of sociologists of youth and those conducting youth research has been how best to unravel 'the interplay between structure and agency in young people's lives' (Miles, 2000: 32). More specifically, it has been suggested that much of the research in the sociology of youth has tended to be characterized by a division

between those researchers interested in the structural aspects of young people's lives – said to be characteristically associated with youth transitions (for example, school-to-work and family/housing transitions) (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Mizen, 2004; Roberts, 1997, 2003a, 2003b) – and those concerned with the more cultural aspects, such as the consumption patterns and lifestyle preferences of young people as individual agents (Bennett, 2000; Miles, 2000, 2003).

The division of studies in the sociology of youth into two separate 'traditions' or trajectories – stressing, in turn, the significance of structural constraints and personal agency for young people's lives – is not as clear-cut as sometimes presented. Indeed, they are probably better thought of as broad orientations rather than as hard-and-fast distinctions, for both earlier and more recent studies have attempted to recognize how young people's lives cannot be experienced independently of, nor explained without reference to, structure *and* agency (Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2004; Hall *et al.*, 1977; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; MacDonald *et al.*, 2001; MacDonald *et al.*, 2005; Miles, 2000, 2003; Roberts, 1997, 2003a, 2003b; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Willis, 1977).

These points notwithstanding, and despite several attempts to resolve the issue (see, for example, Miles, 2000), it remains the case that 'the sociology of youth and youth research ... is hamstrung by its inability to adequately conceptualise ... young people's lives' (Miles, 2003: 170) beyond the conventional tendency to conceptualize and represent young people and society statically as 'two different entities separated by a broad chasm or an unbridgeable antithesis' (Elias, 2001: 87). As far as Elias (1978) and figurational sociology are concerned, such abstract, dichotomous formulations are misleading and unhelpful because they are based on the

misconception that there are structures or 'things' (e.g. 'society') that exist – *sui generis* (Frisby and Sayer, 1986) – independent of the human beings that constitute them. Such a conceptualization presents (young) people as if they are each *Homo clausus* – that is, freely acting individuals surmised to exist independently of each other and 'outside' of the 'society' that they are believed to inhabit (Elias, 1978). The following section will suggest that conceptualizing individuals as interdependent people in the singular – rather than freely-acting individuals – provides a more adequate understanding of the relationship between individuals and the societies they form.

The concept of 'figuration' itself is the central organizing concept of Elias's figurational sociology (Murphy *et al.*, 2000). Elias (2000: 316) described a figuration as 'a structure of mutually oriented and dependent people' and, through his theoretical-empirical work on European civilizing processes (Elias, 2000), developed the concept as a means of trying to help overcome the ever-present philosophical pressure to separate and polarize our conceptions of humankind (Elias, 1978; Kilminster, 1998, 2004). Elias introduced and developed the concept as a means of moving towards – without claiming to offer (cf. Giddens, 1984; Horne and Jary, 1987; Layder, 1986) – a resolution of the seemingly problematic relationships between the individual and society and structure and agency. Elias pointed to what he saw as the pervasive tendency within sociology towards process-reduction, that is, the tendency to represent everything that is experienced and observed as dynamic and interdependent (such as youth) conceptually in isolated, static categories (Elias, 1978; Murphy *et al.*, 2000). In this regard, the concept of 'figuration' is inextricably linked with Elias's critique of the portrayal of human beings as *Homo clausus* – that is, the

view of individuals as self-contained and separate from other individuals who are impacted upon by omnipotent 'social structures'. In eschewing the dominant *Homo clausus* tendencies to be found in much orthodox sociological writing (including, one might add, the sociology of youth), Elias introduced the concept of figuration to help capture and emphasize the processual character of human societies. More particularly, he argued that sociologists should be concerned with viewing human beings as *Homines aperti*, as open pluralities of interdependent people 'bonded together in dynamic constellations' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 92). In Elias's (1978: 72) words:

> the figurations of interdependent human beings cannot be explained if one studies human beings singly. In many cases the opposite procedure is advisable – one can understand many aspects of the behaviour or actions of individual people only if one sets out from the study of the pattern of their interdependence, the structure of their societies, in short from the figurations they form with each other.

Put another way, by conceptualizing society as interdependent people in the plural, and individuals as interdependent people in the singular, figurational sociology offers a more adequate and potentially more productive way of understanding young people and their activities in terms of the networks of interdependencies in which they find themselves (Elias, 1978). In this manner, by placing particular emphasis upon the study of human figurations and networks of interdependencies, Elias, and figurationalists generally, offer a non-reifying, non-reductionist conceptualization of the relationship between people and society insofar as it 'neither metaphysically postulates the existence in societies of supra-individual structures that are "real", nor sees societies simply as aggregates of detached and independent individuals' (Dunning, 1999: 19).

The distinctly Eliasian notion of *interdependency* and the related concept of *process* requires further examination.

Networks of social interdependencies

The importance Elias placed upon the concept of figuration as a more adequate conceptualization of the relations between individual people and the societies they form reflects his insistence on placing human interdependence – which is not something that people can freely choose but is a universal feature of social life *per se* – at the heart of sociological theory (Dunning, 1999; Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977). For Elias, because people form figurations within which they are mutually-dependent upon other people, they are *inevitably* interdependent. As Goudsblom (1977: 7) has noted:

> From the moment it is born a child is dependent upon others who will feed, protect, fondle, and instruct it. The child may not always like the constraints exerted by its strong dependencies, but it has no choice. By its own wants it is tied to other human beings – to its parents in the first place, and through its parents to many others, most of whom may remain unknown to the child for a long time, perhaps forever. All of the child's learning, its learning to speak, to think, to act, takes place in a setting of social interdependencies. As a result, to the very core of their personalities (people) are bonded to each other. They can be understood only in terms of the various figurations to which they have belonged in the past and which they continue to form in the present.

Indeed, throughout the course of their lives, young people – like all people – depend on others for things they need, want, or value; and others (such as friends, parents and teachers) are dependent on them for things they need. The balance of dependencies between a person and other people will, however, vary over time and space as the social interdependencies in which they find themselves inescapably bound up from birth become longer, more complex and more differentiated (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998; Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998). Thus, whilst from the first

moment that a child is born it is completely dependent upon those around them, particularly their parents, it is also simultaneously on the road to relative independence from – while remaining dependent upon – those people it passes through the early school years, adolescence, youth and adulthood and then, later, into older age (Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998). Accompanying the changes in the degree to which young people are dependent on many other people (such as parents and friends), are corresponding changes in the power balances or ratios that characterize the relations between them. Mennell and Goudsblom (1998: 36) describe this process in the following way:

> Because people are usually not equally dependent on each other, the power ratios between them are usually unequal ... the power ratio between children and the adults on whom they are at first overwhelmingly dependent changes in a characteristic way over their lifetimes, and by the time the parents have reached old age the power ratio has usually tilted over in the opposite direction, in favor of their offspring.

In short, as they grow older, the increasing individualization, and 'growing autonomy which tends to accompany the physical and social maturation of the young' (Dunning, 1999: 4), means that young people become more and more dependent upon, and interdependent with, other people. This process is accompanied by a corresponding developmental trend towards a reduction in the power imbalances between younger people and adults (in particular, parents) (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2006; Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998). Thus, throughout the course of the rest of their lives, young people continually produce, reproduce and sometimes reconstitute networks of social interdependencies with many other people (Elias, 1978; Dunning, 1999; Goudsblom, 1977). In other words, as Mennell and Goudsblom (1998: 18) have noted:

> as webs of interdependence spread, more people become more involved in more complex and more impenetrable relations. Less abstractly: more people are forced more often to pay more attention to more people, in more varying circumstances. This produces pressures towards greater consideration of the consequences of one's own action for other people on whom one is in one way or another dependent.

Conceptualizing social relationships between young people and other groups of people in this way, as 'emerging and contingent processes' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 93), allows one to recognize that as the length and complexity of interdependency networks increases, and as the balance of power between those groups varies, so, too, do the relationships between young people and groups of people – that is, the constituent parts of the figuration – change. It is important to note, however, that the relationships of which figurationalists speak are not necessarily, nor primarily, relationships of the face-to-face variety as they are traditionally conceived in Western societies. For example, as tempting as it may be to explain the developmental significance of the relationships in which young people find themselves almost entirely in terms of the more immediate and perhaps more important – as they perceive it – relations they have with friends, their parents, teachers and so on, it would be misleading to overlook the significance of the non face-to-face relationships youngsters form with those with whom they may or may not be familiar (Smith and Green, 2005), such as policy makers and the media. Given this multi-dimensional character of interdependency ties, it is equally important to recognize the ways in which people are 'interconnected by a multiplicity of dynamic bonds' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 93) within sets of social interdependencies for, as Mennell and Goudsblom (1998: 22) have observed, 'In order to understand the feelings, thoughts, and action of any group of people, we have always to consider the many social needs by which these people are bonded to each other and to other people'.

These 'bonds', which also arise because of the unplanned outcome of previous figurations (for example, bonds with groups of friends developed at primary school, and taken to secondary school), form composite units or specific figurations of groups of people within a particular network of relationships. It was Elias's contention that the bonds that connect specific figurations of people together within an overall set of social interdependencies should be investigated sociologically to examine the ways in which people continually cope with the problems of their social interdependence with, and mutual dependence upon, others within the complex network of relationships in which they find themselves (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977). In the present study, it is important, therefore, to appreciate how young people continually attempt to orientate themselves within the social networks of which they are a part in the hope of dealing, or coping better, with the problems that recurrently arise from their interdependence with others. No less importantly, while the figurations within which young people find themselves are comprised of interdependent human beings and are continually in flux, the changes in those figurations, while brought about by the intentions of the people involved, are typically unplanned and unintended and cannot be explained in terms of the actions and organization of any of the constituent parts of a specific figuration (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977). These unintentional and unplanned consequences, it should be noted, are not outcomes that happen by chance or occur in an *ad-hoc* manner. Rather, they are 'the *normal* result of complex social processes involving the interweaving of the more-or-less goal-directed actions of large numbers of people' and are 'outcomes that no one has designed and no one has chosen' (Dunning *et al.*, 2004: 200; emphasis in the original). The significance of such 'blind' social processes and unplanned outcomes for the present study is considered next.

Blind social processes, unintended consequences and unplanned outcomes

One consequence of the emergence of modern, urbanized capitalist societies, such as Britain, has been a growing trend towards social relations and, in particular, sport and leisure relations, becoming increasingly individualized, privatized, commercialized and pacified (Elias, 2001; Rojek, 1985). Indeed, the individualization of social relations, for example, has become a central source of contestation among sociologists of various theoretical persuasions and has been associated, in particular, with claims that we now live in a 'postmodern' world in which social developments are explainable in terms of the lifestyle choices, behaviours and intentional goal-directed actions of *individuals* (see, for example, Bauman, 2001; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Giddens, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994; Miles, 2000).

For figurational sociologists, however, the advance in the individualization of life, particularly since the Renaissance – which is especially characteristic of the experiences of people in societies that are more complex, more specialized and more centralized – are 'not the consequence of a sudden mutation within individual people or of the chance conception of a specially high number of people' (Elias, 2001: 23). In other words, whilst figurational sociologists accept that in modern, highly individualized societies such as Britain, people each have their own more-or-less highly individualized patterns of intentions, preferences and desires, the individualization of life cannot be meaningfully explained in terms of the actions and behaviours of a single individual (Dunning *et al.*, 2004; Kilminster, 1998). Rather, it can only be understood adequately as a 'blind' social process resulting from the largely unintended consequences of 'a breaking up of old groups or a change in the

... consequences of a specific restructuring of human relationships' (Elias, 2001: 23-4).[1]

It is also important to note that the degree of individualization experienced by people varies according to the societies in which they live and develops and changes in and through relations with other people with whom they comprise complex figurations (Elias, 2001). It is within this context of the shifting relations with other people that there emerges, on the part of the individual person, a learned tendency towards increasing self-regulation – at the social-psychological level – and self-control in relation to other people and personal freedom of choice that, in turn, corresponds not only to the degree of individualization achieved but also to the overall stage reached in the civilizing of the individual and wider society of which they are part (Elias, 2001; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2006; Kilminster, 1998; Mennell, 1998). In this regard, for Elias, the growth of individualization – or 'new form of self-consciousness' (Elias, 2001: 97) – should be viewed as a social transformation of self-consciousness that is 'both *historical*, in that whole societies have undergone (and) are still undergoing them today, and *personal*, in that every child undergoes them in growing up' (Elias, 2001: 117; emphases in the original).

Such transformations in the direction of greater individualization – that has been more rapid and even in more complex societies (such as Britain) and slower and more uneven in comparatively simpler societies – are, it should be noted, beyond the control of the individual person, which can often generate considerable tensions with which they must somehow cope (Elias, 2001). On the one hand, highly-individualized people often value considerably their perceived difference from other people and

'their freedom, their ability to act on their own responsibility and to decide for themselves' (Elias, 2001: 129), while, on the other, there is a simultaneous tendency for them to experience a whole range of feelings including a greater isolation from others, of not living one's own life and a feeling of radical solitude (Elias, 2001). In other words, while it is frequently 'a personal ideal of young people and adults to differ from others in one way or another, to distinguish oneself – in short, to be different' (Elias, 2001: 140), the individualization of social life has generated, to a greater or lesser degree, corresponding feelings of 'separateness and encapsulation of individuals in their relations to each other' (Elias, 2001: 121). The two-edged character of individualization that has developed over the course of several centuries has involved a gradual shift in the balance between the we- and I- identity, that are integral to the social habitus of a person, towards the I- identity; that is to say, greater emphasis has come to be placed on 'the I- identity of the individual person, and the detachment of that person from the traditional groupings' (Elias, 2001: 179) of people with whom they may or may not be aware.

In this regard, Dunning (1999: 4) has noted that during the course of their growing autonomy and individualization, a young person 'gradually learns to think of himself/herself as an "I", to acquire an identity and sense of self' through processes of interaction with the developing self and others. A crucial aspect of the process through which young people seek to acquire a socially acceptable 'we-I balance' (Elias, 2001) is the 'formation of bonds with others that are neither too distant nor too close and in which a balance is struck between autonomy and dependence' (Dunning, 1999: 4). Thus, throughout the course of growing up and the expression of their own particular lifestyle preferences, young people actively endeavour to ensure that they

are 'considered by others as neither too self-absorbed nor too dependent on the groups to which he/she belongs' (Dunning, 1999: 4) and with whom they have 'we' and 'they' relationships. To that end, the highly individualized self-identities that young people acquire and develop continuously throughout the course of their lives, can be achieved only by comparing and defining them *in relation* to 'other people occupying other positions in the web of relationships' (Elias, 1978: 124) of which they are a part.

From a figurational perspective, then, the increasing individualization of young people's lifestyles, biographies and identities – and the growing emphasis that has come to be placed upon the significance of the I- identity in their lives – is interwoven or, rather, highly-interdependent with the increasing complexity and differentiation of the interdependencies in which they find themselves. It should be clear, therefore, that while increasing individualization and interdependence are seemingly contradictory processes, they are, in fact, *interrelated* processes that involve different patterns and bonds of interdependence which generate different levels of individualization: they are, in effect, two sides of the same coin (see, for example, Elias, 2001; Kilminster, 1998; Mennell, 1998). While young people often invest considerable time and effort in actively seeking to assert their independence from others and endeavour to create their own individualized identities and lifestyles (Miles, 2000, 2003; Roberts, 1997, 1999), they cannot escape the figurational constraints of the complex networks of human interdependencies of which they have been and are currently a part, for 'the potential people (they) are born would never develop into the actual people (they) become if (they) were never subjected to any of the constraints of interdependence' (Elias, 1978: 94). It is often for these reasons that young people continually attempt to

'stick out' and express their individuality in socially acceptable ways, that is, within the limits defined as acceptable by their friends and others (Miles, 2000; Miles *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 2004; Roberts and Parsell, 1994). In short, the lifestyle decisions young people make are not only constrained by their own personal positions and circumstances (such as gender, position in the social hierarchy and 'ethnic' affiliations) – what Roberts *et al.* (1994) refer to as structured individualization – but are also enabled and constrained as well as constructed and defined *in relation* to other people within the wider social web of which they are a part.

Although young people may actively seek to 'pick and mix' from a wide repertoire of possible sport and leisure activities (Roberts, 1997) as a means of expressing their individuality and establishing, maintaining and experimenting with their highly individualized identities and lifestyles (Miles, 2000, 2003; Shilling, 2005), this is always done in the context of their relations with others and especially their friends. More particularly, throughout the course of their lives young people seek to strike 'a delicate balancing act between the construction of individuality and relationships constructed in groups' (Miles, 2000: 24); that is to say, young people often use their sport and leisure lifestyles as a means for coping simultaneously with the felt need to 'fit in' within the perceived constraints of those around them and the felt need to 'stick out' in terms of their individuality and self-expression (Miles *et al.*, 1998). As Simmel (1971 [1904]) has noted, one of the more obvious ways in which people achieve this is through the use of fashion and clothing, both of which are frequently utilized as a means of defining one's own individuality and one's membership of a group (such as friendship and class groupings). That is, for Simmel (1971a [1904]), fashion (and, for that matter, sport) is just one form of leisure that is used by people to

express and emphasize their separateness from others, in short, their individualization, while at the same time deriving social approval from significant others who are pursuing similar ends (Simmel, 1971a [1904]; 1971b [1908]; 1971c [1910]; 1971d). Expressed differently, such activities are often valued highly not least because they:

> are accompanied by a feeling for, by a satisfaction in, the very fact that one is associated with others and that the solitariness of the individual is resolved into togetherness, a union with others (Simmel, 1971c [1910]: 128).

This having been said, it is important to note that from a figurational perspective, whilst they may be experienced as external 'forces' exerted by 'social institutions', the constraints that young – indeed, all – people feel towards leading highly-individualized lifestyles and acting in particular ways are in fact exerted by themselves and other people within the overall set of interdependencies in which they find themselves (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977; Kilminster, 1998). Murphy *et al.* summarize the ways in which the same young people who may feel constrained are at the same time actively constraining over other people and on themselves thus:

> the peculiar constraint which is exerted by 'social structures' (figurations) over those who form them – and the fact that social processes, though produced by the interweaving of pluralities of individual acts, are *relatively autonomous* of particular individual intentions – should not lead us to ascribe to those processes an existence, an objective reality, over and above the groups of people whose actions constitute those processes (2000: 92; emphases in the original).

It should also be noted, moreover, that what Elias termed 'blind' social processes result from 'the very complexity and dynamic character of the interweaving of the actions of large numbers of people (that) continuously give rise to outcomes that no one has chosen and no one has designed' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 92-3). Thus, from a figurational perspective, social processes such as individualization are conceived of

more adequately as emergent 'blind' social processes that are usual aspects of social life and the largely unintended outcomes of the intentional actions of *interdependent* people bonded together in webs of unplanned interdependencies (Elias, 1978; Goudsblom, 1977; van Krieken, 1998). In other words, however genuinely the intentional actions of young people may appear to be (not least to the young people themselves) when actively seeking to construct their own individualized lifestyles, an adequate understanding of individualization processes must appreciate that they are never 'designed', as it were, by an individual young person. Rather, the intentional actions of an individual young person 'have unplanned consequences, which they did not anticipate and cannot control' and which are 'brought about by the repercussions of the actions of others whom they do not know but with whom they are interdependent' (Kilminster, 1998: 135). In some cases, however, they are also brought about by the repercussions of the actions of people whom young people *do* know and with whom they are directly related on a face-to-face basis (such as immediate friendship groups and parents).

In short, for figurationalists, the character of social life can be properly understood only if people are 'conceptualised as *interdependent* rather than autonomous, comprising what (Elias) called *figurations* rather than social systems or structures, and as characterised by socially and historically specific forms of *habitus*, or personality structure' (van Krieken, 1998: 55; emphases in the original). In the context of the present study, it is worth making brief mention of habitus as a central dimension of human figurations.

Habitus

Whilst the theoretical development of habitus as a sociological concept is perhaps most closely associated with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1978, 1984), habitus was a standard term in German sociology before Bourdieu employed the term and was first used by Elias in the first edition of *The Civilizing Process* in 1939 (Dunning, 2002). Notwithstanding this chronological difference in the use of the term, it is clear that there are two main senses in which the concept of habitus tends to be employed in sociology: first, in relation to the social construction of the body; and, secondly, in terms of the development of the personality structure. Shilling (1998, 2003, 2005), for example, uses the term habitus (in relation to physical 'capital') in a manner more in keeping with Bourdieu's (1978) use of the term. Elias, on the other hand, employs the term in relation to the notion of habit (Mennell, 1998; van Krieken, 1998) and, as such, has more in common not only with Bourdieu (1984) but also Weber's (1978) use of the concept (Green *et al.*, 2005b). Whilst there are many similarities between Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus and that of Elias (see, for example, van Krieken, 1998), the latter sought to move away from what he saw as the over-emphasis placed upon bodily habitus said to be characteristic of the former, in favour of a more generalized conception of habitus (van Krieken, 1998).

For Elias, habitus refers to a person's 'second nature' or 'embodied social learning' acting as an 'automatic, blindly functioning apparatus of self-control' (Elias, 2000: 368) that develops within the figurations of which they are a part. It was Elias's contention that each person develops their own individual and unique habitus as well as a series of social habituses – such as gender habituses – that are shared with others who have been habituated through similar experiences (Dunning, 2002). This

organization of psychological make-up into a habitus is a 'continuous *process* which (begins) at birth and continue(s) throughout a person's childhood and youth' (van Krieken, 1998: 59; original emphasis). Whilst habitus develops most rapidly during this 'more impressionable phase' (van Krieken, 1998: 59) of life and slower later on, the development of habitus continues throughout a person's life and never ceases entirely to be affected by, and cannot be properly understood without reference to, the ways in which the changing social relations in which people find themselves become more-or-less complex and are perceived as more-or-less compelling (van Krieken, 1998).

In this regard, Elias's recognition of the historical character of habitus – both across generations and within a person's lifetime – was inextricably tied to the essential interdependence of human existence and the processual nature of growing up from childhood through to adulthood and older age (van Krieken, 1998). In particular, Elias sought to:

> 'stretch' our understanding of habitus and the person over the whole period of any individual's biography, from the absolute dependence of a newborn infant, through the gradual acquisition of relative independence as an adult, and then the greater dependence of old age (van Krieken, 1998: 154).

It should be noted, however, that what Elias had to say of the development of habitus over the life-course was also bound up with his analysis of Western civilizing processes, which led him to conclude *inter alia* that over the course of the last century 'we have seen the acceleration of a transformation in the relationship between parents and children which can be traced back to the early Middle Ages' (Goudsblom and Mennell, 1998: 189). It is not possible here to examine all of what Elias had to say regarding the complexity of the interdependence between Western civilizing and de-

civilizing processes and correlative changes in the relations between adults, particularly parents, and children and young people (see, for example, Goodwin and O'Connor, 2006; Gouldsblom and Mennell, 1998; Kilminster, 1998; van Krieken, 1998), so the following passage will provide a necessarily brief summary relevant to the present context.

For Elias, the long-term changes in the character of adult- and, in particular, parent-child relations, as well as processes of youth development more generally, 'concerned a double-edged development' (van Krieken, 1998: 156) rooted in the unplanned civilizing of the relations between those groups. This involved, among other things, increasing restraint – both over themselves and over each other – associated with the gradual changing in the balance between external- and self-constraints in favour of the latter (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2006; Kilminster, 1998; Mennell, 1998; van Krieken, 1998). As van Krieken has noted, this principally involved, on the one hand, the '*democratization* of relations between adults and children and a decline in inequality between them' and, on the other, 'a decline in the ritualized expressions of respect for parental authority and a more general *informalization* of relations between adults and children' (1998: 156; emphases in the original). More particularly, as the networks of interdependencies that bind people together have lengthened and become more complex, there has been a reduction in the power differentials and social distance between groups as societies have become less hierarchical over a long period of time (Elias, 1978; Kilminster, 1998; Wouters, 1977, 1986, 1987). This unplanned process of social equalization or functional democratization was thus characterized by Elias (1978: 69) as involving:

> the narrowing of power differentials and development towards a less uneven distribution of power chances; it permeates the whole gamut of social bonds, although there are impulses simultaneously running counter to this trend.

Thus, although there has been 'a long-term change in the overall distribution of power from greater to smaller power differentials' (Kilminster, 1998: 150), as the social distance between interdependent groups in societies has narrowed, there remain very unequal power ratios between various groupings (such as those between adults and children) in some contexts (Elias, 1978; Kilminster, 1998; Mennell, 1998; Wouters, 1977, 1986, 1987).

Within the overall longer-term unplanned process of functional democratization, there have occurred several waves of informalization, the most recent of which occurred during the 1960s (Kilminster, 1998; Wouters, 1977, 1986, 1987). One consequence of the lengthening and increasing complexity of networks of social interdependencies and the changing power differentials involved in functional democratization has been the tendency for the modes of behaviour between adults and younger people to grow closer together. Indeed, as the balance of power has titled away from adults towards being more in favour of younger people since the 1960s, the prohibition and suppression of behaviour by the former over the latter that characterized earlier periods has become more relaxed, and greater levels of leniency, differentiation and variety have become more prominent features of those same relationships. These tendencies become manifest, for example, in 'the less formal regulation of the spoken and written language, clothing, music, dancing and hair styles' (Kilminster, 1998: 151) as younger people, in particular, 'experiment with the boundaries of what is acceptable' (Kilminster, 1998: 152) in social life. It is through these and other ways that the relations between adults and younger people have become increasingly

characterized by negotiation rather than prohibition (Kilminster, 1998; Wouters, 1977, 1986, 1987).

As waves of informalization gradually develop however, a new behavioural code emerges in which earlier informal modes of behaviour become formalized and there develops 'acceptable forms of informality' (Kilminster, 1998: 152) which varies characteristically between and within different groups. While it is far from clear and is something that requires further empirical verification, it appears that one consequence of this process has been a greater mutual identification (Elias, 1978) between people who value the more relaxed and informal nature of their relations with others, even though this often requires them to exert greater constraint over themselves and each other to sustain these relations than formerly (Kilminster, 1998; Wouters, 1977, 1986, 1987).

In sum, these democratization and informalization processes – that have also been interwoven in many complex ways with, among others, processes of individualization – have resulted in a gradual change in the power ratios between adults and younger people. In light of the significance of these power ratios, the next section considers in more detail the utility of the distinctively figurational conceptualization of power for the present study.

Power

A central dimension of the dynamic networks of interdependencies in which young people find themselves caught up is that of power. For Elias, and figurationalists more generally, power is a polymorphous, figurationally-generated property of all

human relationships (Elias, 1978) and, as a process, is best conceptualized in terms of relative balances that are 'dynamic and continually in flux' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 93). In this regard, figurationalists reject the possibility that some people or groups of people (such as adults) within the social figurations they constitute are omnipotent and others (for example, young people) completely powerless. Rather, as Murphy *et al.* (2000: 93) have noted:

> Power is always a question of relative balances, never of absolute possession or absolute deprivation, for no one is ever absolutely powerful or absolutely powerless.

Thus, for figurationalists, people can be considered only as being in a position of power rather than 'possessing' power as such, for power is not an object of possession but a structural characteristic of all human relationships. Observations of this kind – that lie at the heart of Elias's conceptualization of power – are elaborated upon in more detail in what he referred to as his 'game model' theory of social processes (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998). These utilize 'the image of people playing a game as a metaphor for people forming societies together' and, in so doing, 'make certain problems about social life more accessible to scientific reflection' (Elias, 1978: 92).

By introducing his concept of 'game models' Elias sought to demonstrate 'the way in which human aims and actions intertwine' (Elias, 1978: 73) in the hope that such models may help contribute towards the achievement of 'a better understanding of ... power balances, not as extraordinary but as everyday occurrences' (Elias, 1978: 74). Put most simply, the actions of interdependent people within each of the models that Elias proposed are viewed as analogous to moves in a game where the dependency of

a player upon the intentions and actions of others in the game inevitably influence the player's own intentions and actions (Elias, 1978). For figurationalists, these moves are best explained in terms of the imminent dynamics of the interdependence between people – such as young people and adults – at all levels in the game, not least because this 'brings out more graphically the processual character of relationships between interdependent people' (Elias, 1978: 86), and allows us to recognize how and in what ways the interdependency ties that bind people together (individually and in groups) *enable* and *constrain* their actions. More specifically, as interdependency ties lengthen and become more complex being interdependent with 'so many people will very probably compel individual people to act in a way they would not act except under compulsion' (Elias, 1978: 94).

As the relationships they are involved in become increasingly multi- rather than bi-polar, young people are more likely to feel more *constrained* and less *enabled* in their thoughts and actions. Consequently, they are correspondingly more likely to experience feelings of powerlessness – although they can never be regarded absolutely powerless as such – when the balance of power is perceived to favour one group more than the other group(s) in a relationship (as is sometimes the case between themselves and adults), such that this will, by degrees, 'directly affect the way both parties act and feel towards each other' (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998: 22). However, 'the more relatively equal become the power-ratios among large numbers of people and groups', the more likely it becomes that the outcome of the thoughts and actions of those people 'will be something that no single person or group has planned or anticipated' (Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998: 23).

In brief, for figurationalists, the lengthening chains of interdependence in modern societies has been associated with a correlative reduction in the unequal power distribution between people and groups of people (Elias, 1978). In the present context, therefore, it is important to examine from a longer-term perspective the fluctuating balance of power between groups of young people and adults, particularly their parents, and the ways in which these power differentials, in conjunction with processes such as democratization, informalization and individualization, have meant that young people and adults have grown closer to each other as the power differentials between them have narrowed, with negotiation rather than direction and prohibition becoming increasingly characteristic of those relations (see, for example, Mennell, 1998; Kilminster, 1998). These are issues that will be re-visited in Chapter Nine. In the next section, however, brief consideration will be made of the distinctly Eliasian understanding of the relationship between human values and understanding, namely, Elias's concept of involvement and detachment.

Involvement and detachment

As Murphy *et al.* (2000) have noted, another distinctive characteristic of figurational sociology worthy of consideration is Elias's position on the relationship between human understanding and values, an issue that has traditionally been discussed in abstract terms in which proponents have argued for 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity', for 'value-neutrality' or 'value-bias'. Elias (1956, 1987) explicitly rejected 'all or nothing' polarities such as these and it was his recognition of the figurational complexities involved in all human relationships that led him to claim that 'researchers can realistically only aspire to develop explanations that have a greater degree of adequacy than preceding explanations' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 94). Elias

argued, therefore, that we require 'a more adequate conceptualisation of our ways of thinking about the world, and of the processes as a result of which our present, more scientific, ways of thinking about the world have developed' (Waddington, 2000: 2) beyond the all too prevalent tendency to think in terms of a mutually exclusive and radical dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity.

Indeed, Elias offered a properly sociological approach to the relationship between human knowledge and values insofar as he conceptualized the problem in terms of *degrees* of involvement and detachment – a relational and processual conceptualization that helps us to examine the development, over time, of more object-adequate or reality-congruent from less object-adequate or reality-congruent knowledge (Elias, 1956, 1987; Mennell, 1998; Murphy *et al.*, 2000). He did so on the premise that, *contra* Hargreaves's (1992) and Rojek's (1995) assertion that figurationalists claim to be 'objective' or 'detached', it is neither possible, nor, for that matter, is it desirable, to obtain complete detachment or involvement. In that respect, Elias did not conceptualize the relationship between involvement and detachment in dichotomous terms, or as simple equivalents of objectivity and subjectivity as some critics have claimed (see, for example, Blackshaw, 2002; Hargreaves, 1992; Horne and Jary, 1987; Layder, 1986; Mouzelis, 1993, 1995; Rojek, 1986, 1992), but as a continuum along which blends of involvement (that is conducive to more fantasy-laden and mythical thinking) and detachment (that is conducive to the production of more reality-congruent or object-adequate knowledge) are located (Elias, 1956, 1987; Kilminster, 1998, 2004; Mennell, 1998; Murphy *et al.*, 2000). Elias (1956: 237) summarized the challenges faced by sociologists in

combining an effective balance between their involvement with, and detachment from, the processes and phenomena they study in the following way:

> The problem confronting (sociologists) is not simply to discard (their more involved, political) role in favour of ... (a more detached, scientific one). They cannot cease to take part in, and to be affected by, the social and political affairs of their group and time. Their known participation and involvement, moreover, is itself one of the conditions for comprehending the problems they try to solve as scientists. For while one need not know, to understand the structure of molecules, what it feels like to be one of its atoms – in order to understand the functioning of human groups one needs to know, as it were, from the inside how human beings experience their own and other groups, and one cannot know without active participation and involvement.
>
> The problem confronting those who study one or the other aspects of human groups is how to keep their two roles as participant and enquirer clearly and consistently apart and, as a professional group to establish in their work the undisputed dominance of the latter.

Thus, in order to understand more adequately the reality of young people's lives (and the place of sport and physical activity therein), it is imperative that researchers seek to achieve in their work greater degrees of detachment in the hope that this will help to maximise the development of 'knowledge which is more reality-oriented' (Elias, 1987: 67) and that is less mythical and fantasy-based. Attempts to examine problems of this kind is best achieved, argued Elias (1956, 1987), not directly, but by means of a 'detour *via* detachment' in which researchers who are able to hold their ideological orientations 'in check', as it were, throughout the course of their research are more likely to generate explanations that have a higher degree of reality-congruence than preceding explanations (Dunning, 1992, 1999; Elias, 1956, 1987; Murphy *et al.*, 2000). That is, assuming they do not get lost along the way, if sociologists are able to successfully undertake a detour *via* detachment it should help them to produce knowledge about young people's lives that supplements existing knowledge, or when compared against existing explanations, knowledge that has a greater degree of adequacy and that is more reality-congruent than previously (Elias, 1956, 1987).

It is a leitmotiv of the figurational approach, therefore, that scientific work rests upon an indivisible combination or, rather, interdependence between, interpretation and observation, of theoretical and empirical work, that contributes to the development of funds of social-scientific knowledge that 'becomes *more extensive, more correct, and more adequate*' (Elias, 1978: 53; original emphasis) continuously and cumulatively over time. In other words, at the heart of the figurational sociological enterprise is the need to ensure that there is a constant dynamic interplay between one's theoretical assumptions and empirical observations throughout the course of research, not least because this is just one means by which it is necessary to move 'in the direction of that blend between involvement and detachment which is most conducive to (developing more) reality-congruent knowledge' (Dunning, 1992: 253).

This having been said, it remains the case that Elias and other figurational sociologists continue to be criticized for failing to outline any sufficient 'ground-rules', so to speak, for researchers seeking to adopt an appropriate level of detachment in their work in the hope of developing relatively adequate explanations that contribute to the advancement of knowledge (see, for example, Blackshaw, 2002; Layder, 1986; Rojek, 1985, 1986, 1995). Blackshaw (2002: 210; emphasis added), for example, has pointed out that several authors have criticized what he calls the involvement and detachment '*dichotomy* in relation to the methodological and epistemological problems associated with "doing" figurational sociology'. Although Blackshaw seemingly fails in this connection to appreciate how, as noted above, Elias stressed that the relationship between involvement and detachment should be viewed in terms of continua rather than as polar opposites, he *is* correct to suggest that the methodological procedures associated with the figurational approach has yet to be sufficiently explored and

explicated by its proponents. Indeed, beyond some of the 'rules of procedure' set forth by Elias in his work on involvement and detachment and, more recently, by Dunning (1992), the methodological implications involved in undertaking a research project from a distinctly figurational perspective is 'an area to which figurational sociologists need to devote a great deal more attention' (Dunning, 1992: 254).

This notwithstanding, if the search for a relatively detached understanding of social phenomena – such as young people's lives and the place of sport and physical activity therein – is one central objective of the figurational approach, then a second, closely related objective derives from a commitment to what Elias (1978) called 'the role of the sociologist as a destroyer of myths'. In the present context, the importance of this commitment towards attempting to provide a more adequate explanation of young people's lives that seeks to transcend much of the debate surrounding young people's involvement in sport and physical activity that is 'saturated' with ideology and mythology, is clear from what Elias had to say of the development of social-scientific knowledge more generally. Elias (1978: 52) argued in this connection that, when studying the development of science:

> it is soon discovered that the cause of science has been advanced in certain societies by small groups struggling against untested, pre-scientific systems of thought. To other and usually far more powerful groups, these latter beliefs appear quite obvious. Scientifically thinking groups are generally groups which criticise or reject the dominant and commonly accepted ideas of their society, even when these are upheld by recognised authorities, for they have found that they do not correspond to the observable facts. *In other words, scientists are destroyers of myths.* By factual observation, they endeavour to replace myths, religious ideas, metaphysical speculations and all unproven images of the natural processes with theories – testable, verifiable and correctable by factual observation.

Although it may be that for some groups (in particular, government policy makers, the media, and some academics) the primary objective of their work is to try to stimulate change designed to reduce or eliminate what they regard as 'negative' and 'unhealthy' aspects of youth lifestyles, for example, such an approach tells us rather more about the particular values and prejudices of those groups and tends to reinforce rather than challenge the widely-held beliefs and myths surrounding young people's involvement in sport, physical activity and leisure. In other words, insofar as analyses of young people's involvement in sport and physical activity and the inter-relationships between these and other aspects of their lives are characterized by a relative lack of detachment, by a high commitment to ideological or extra-scientific concerns and by a high level of emotional involvement, then it is more likely that the resulting explanation will end up allocating praise or blame rather than enhancing our level of understanding of young people's lives. It is therefore a central and necessary task for any sociologist, and not just figurational sociologists, motivated by a desire for advancing knowledge and understanding, to subject to critical analysis the ideologies and mythologies surrounding the social phenomena (such as young people's involvement in sport, physical activity and leisure) that they are studying.

The preceding explanation has attempted to outline some of the central aspects and key concepts that inform a figurational sociological study of young people's lives. The next section considers some of the ways in which the figurational perspective – and other sociological perspectives generally – have been used in the sociology of sport and leisure.

Figurational sociology and the sociology of sport and leisure

The basic tenets of the figurational perspective regarding sport and leisure[2] and, in particular, the significance of the emotions[3] aroused in sport and leisure were advanced, first, by Elias and Dunning in the 1960s in their text *Quest for Excitement* (Elias and Dunning, 1986), and then, later on, by Dunning (1996, 1999) and Maguire (1991, 1992, 2003). In short, what Elias and Dunning proposed was a 'non-dualistic, *Homines aperti*-oriented sociological theory of sport and leisure' (Dunning, 1999: 24) that incorporates an examination of the bio-, psycho- and socio-historical aspects of people's lives, and that focuses centrally on people's emotional and cognitive processes that are socially as well as psycho-physiologically generated (see, for example, Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). The figurational perspective on sport and leisure seeks, moreover, to understand people's 'sport and leisure activities in the context of the fluid and diachronically changing 'figurations'' (Dunning, 1999: 24) in which they find themselves, as well as the power balances and tensions of many kinds that characterize those figurations.

One additional aspect of the broader framework that characterizes the figurational approach to the study of leisure – and one that is especially salient to the present study – involves a recognition of the ways in which 'leisure relations today are more privatized, individuated, commercialized, and pacified than ever before' (Rojek, 1985: 169). Indeed, for figurationalists, these four key deep-rooted historically produced and reproduced tendencies that are structured *inter alia* along gender, 'racial' and national lines have helped to give contemporary leisure relations their specific organizational forms (Rojek, 1985). These interweaving tendencies – all of which are drawn together in Elias's (2000) work on *The Civilizing Process* – have

also 'projected the self, the individual body, to the forefront of leisure action and experience' (Rojek, 1985: 181). They have also helped to focus attention upon the ways in which modern leisure relations – as dynamic social processes that 'consist of numerous criss-cross movements in continuous and discontinuous directions' (Rojek, 1985: 23) – result from the increasing complexity and differentiation of networks of interdependency that emerged in the development of modern urban-industrialized societies (see, for example, Maguire, 1992, 2003; Rojek, 1985).

From a figurational perspective, therefore, an understanding of young people 'in the round', as 'whole selves' (Dunning, 1999; Maguire, 1991, 1992, 2003) as it were, and the interdependencies in which they find themselves, forms a vital prerequisite for understanding key aspects of their lives generally and the interrelationships between the various dimensions of those lives. More specifically, by placing particular emphasis on 'studying (sport and) leisure in connection with the total field of interdependencies, of the 'figurations', in which personal experience occurs' (Rojek, 1995: 52), and focusing upon the significance of the aforementioned social processes (such as individualization and privatization) associated with the long-term changes in sport and leisure relations, adopting a figurational perspective holds out the promise of providing a more complex, yet much more adequate, explanation of the reality of young people's lives, generally, and the nuances of their 'lived experiences' of sport and leisure in particular.

Adopting a figurational perspective on young people's leisure relations also helps to avoid the hitherto conventional tendency in much of the orthodox work in the British sociology of leisure, particularly in some of the more positivist and functionalist

accounts, to think in terms of a crude 'work-leisure' dichotomy and to equate leisure with 'free time' (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Maguire, 1992, 2003; Rojek, 1985). In relation to the latter, for example, figurationalists argue that it is inadequate to equate leisure with 'free time' because the concept has no intrinsic meaning and carries with it ideological overtones, and because leisure time and space are not necessarily correlated with experience of freedom, choice, spontaneity or self-determination (Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). Above all else, however, for figurational sociologists equating leisure with 'free time' ignores the fact that 'leisure activity is not 'free' but, on the contrary, subject to some form of constraint' (Rojek, 1985: 16) that varies according to the social context, that is, the structure of the particular societies in which they are pursued and with whom they are done.

It was in the context of their critique of the concept of 'free time', among other things, that Elias and Dunning (1986) argued that it in any sociological theory of leisure it is important to differentiate between 'spare time', the general all-inclusive category, and 'leisure', the more specific category. Such a distinction is important not least because 'with the obvious exception of people employed occupationally in the sport and leisure industries, whilst all leisure activities are sparetime activities, not all sparetime is leisure' (Dunning, 1999: 24-5), with both of these differing in terms of the degree of choice and routinization involved (see, for example, Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Roberts, 1999). As Dunning (1999) has noted, in some non-occupational (or, 'non-school-related', in the case of school-aged young people) and in that sense 'sparetime' activities (such as performing the duties involved in volunteer work, carrying out housework and catering for one's own

bodily needs) 'tend to involve a high degree of compulsion, to be highly routinized and to be performed with a high degree of emotional restraint' (Dunning, 1999: 25). Such a viewpoint is not uniquely held by figurational sociologists however. Roberts, for example, has also repeatedly argued that leisure is most adequately conceived of as the time left over after paid work (in the case of young people, this relates to the end of the school-day) and after other obligatory activities – particularly those involving self-maintenance – have been completed (see, for example, Roberts, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1999).

This notwithstanding, for figurational sociologists, leisure activities 'tend to involve a stronger element of choice, together with an element ... at least as far as relatively "civilized" societies are concerned, "the controlled-decontrolling of emotional controls"' (Dunning, 1999: 25). These and other observations form a central part of Elias and Dunning's (1986) attempt to lay the foundations for a more general theory of leisure that grew out of the theory of civilizing processes, and informed, in particular, the construction of the 'sparetime spectrum' in which they suggest there are three basic elements and two main categories of leisure (Elias and Dunning, 1986).[4] In the context of the present study, the most salient features of what Elias and Dunning (1986) had to say in this regard is briefly outlined in the following passages. At the risk of some over-simplification, the 'sparetime spectrum', as it is outlined by Elias and Dunning (1986), conveys the idea that, like colours in the colour spectrum, spare-time activities and leisure activities frequently overlap and fuse, and that there appears to be three basic elements of leisure – sociability, motility and emotional/pleasurable arousal – and two main corresponding classes of leisure activities: sociable activities and 'mimetic' or 'play' activities (see, for example,

Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986).[5] Writing of the significance of sociability to most sport and leisure activities which has long been recognized by sociologists (see, for example, Miles, 2000; Roberts, 1999, 2004; Simmel, 1950, 1971c [1910]), Dunning (1999: 25; original emphasis) has noted that:

> It is not a profound discovery to suggest that, although some are highly individualized and privatized, sociability is a basic element in most leisure activities. That is, a key element in the enjoyment is pleasurable emotional arousal through being in the company of others without any obligations apart from those which are taken on largely voluntarily. However, in some leisure activities such as parties, pub-going and visits to friends, sociability is the primary element. We (Elias and Dunning) referred to sociable gatherings of this type as 'leisure-*gemeinschaften*' because they provide opportunities for closer integration between people on a level of overt and, in intent, friendly emotionality which differs markedly from the forms of integration which are regarded as normal in the occupational and other non-leisure parts of life in contemporary industrial societies.[6]

Indeed, as they grow older many young people (and adults) come to place greater emphasis on, and continuously seek to derive enjoyable experiences from, the sociability that is recurrently generated in sport and leisure contexts, particularly in the company of friends (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Bynner and Ashford, 1992; Cotterell, 1996; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Feinstein *et al.*, 2006; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 1999, 2004). Although sociability is a primary element of their early childhood experiences of 'playing', as many young people approach the mid-adolescent years, there is a correlative increase in the emphasis that comes to be placed upon engaging in sociable (such as going to parties and clubs, pub-going, visiting friends) and mimetic leisure activities (including shopping, playing and watching sport) that 'form an enclave for the socially approved arousal of moderate excitement in public' (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 65). In other words, as younger people grow older, they become increasingly concerned with engaging in sociable and mimetic leisure activities – particularly the latter – in which the creation of

excitement, enjoyment and self-confidence whilst 'hanging around' and socializing in the company of like-minded friends in their leisure time is a primary concern (Cotterell, 1996; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Roberts, 1999, 2004).

From a figurational perspective, this tendency for young people to seek, in the course of their sport and leisure activities, the generation of pleasurable excitement and emotional arousal is highly interwoven with their attempts to counter the increasing routinization that is characteristic of everyday life in 'more developed', highly individualized, modern societies such as Britain (see, for example, Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). More specifically, for figurational sociologists, the increasing routinization of social life that restricts the willingness and ability of young people – like all people – to act in an openly excited manner, especially in public (Dunning, 1996), is just one consequence of the stricter controls that have come to be placed upon them during the course of an individual civilizing process (or, more conventionally put, socialization) and the overall stage reached in the civilization of the society of which they are a part. Dunning (1996: 196) summarizes what this process has involved in the following way:

> the balance between external control and self-control has shifted in favour of self-control with the consequence that the behaviour of most people tends, compared with the past societies and present societies which are 'less developed', to be characterized by higher levels of all-round restraint. As a result, social life in general has become more highly routinized, and de-routinizing activities based on ... the three main elements of leisure ... either singly or in combination, have grown up in order to counter the 'emotional staleness' engendered by routinization by providing enclaves for the legitimate arousal and expression of degrees of emotional arousal which are higher than what is permitted in everyday routines and, under optimal conditions ... lower than what people experience in seriously critical situations.

Indeed, it has been widely-acknowledged in much sociological work on youth that the appeal of engaging in leisure activities of various kinds (such as drinking alcohol and using illegal drugs as well as playing sport and go shopping) is because they counter-balance experiences of boredom by helping to create – often in the company of friends – a sense of excitement, enjoyment and feelings of self-confidence for young people (Bell *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker, *et al.*, 2002; Roberts, 1999, 2004; Shildrick, 2002, 2006; Simmel, 1950, 1971c [1910]). Even though the kinds of activities in which such experiences are often perceived to transcend boundaries of what is considered as 'socially acceptable' by the general public, it is clear that young people often place considerable importance upon 'having a laugh' and socializing with friends as one way of generating excitement and enjoyment in their lives (Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker, *et al.*, 2002; Shildrick, 2002, 2006).

From a specifically figurational perspective, however, emotional arousal plays a central part in young people's sport and leisure activities inasmuch as it helps, within relatively defined limits (that is, within what is often regarded as the boundaries of 'civilized'[7] behaviour), to generate tension and pleasurable excitement accompanied by a requisite degree of anxiety and fear, which is enjoyed even more when one is in the company of friends and others, by de-routinizing the high level of routinization characteristic of life in 'un-exciting' societies (Elias and Dunning, 1986). While sport and leisure activities can, of course, lose their de-routinizing purposes by becoming 'routinized themselves through repetition or too strict a measure of control, and hence lose the capacity for generating excitement' (Dunning, 1996: 196), such activities help to enhance the socially conditioned and psychologically-generated leisure needs of young people in many ways and are principally involved in young people's 'quest

for exciting significance' (see, for example, Maguire, 1992, 2003). In short, sport and leisure provide enclaves for young people to engage – with varying degrees of formality and intimacy – in social contexts that enable them to develop their *own* tastes, by doing the things *they* want to do and with *whom* they want to do them and, in that respect, helps them to individualize their own sporting and leisure lifestyle preferences that they evidently appear keen to do.

Conclusion

The intention of this chapter has been to outline how a figurational sociological perspective that is informed by sociological work on youth, sport and leisure might fruitfully be applied to a sociological study of young people's lives and, in particular, the place of sport, physical activity and leisure therein. The next chapter explains how the theoretical assumptions of figurational sociology underpinned the selection of the research methods that were considered to be most adequate in helping to answer the research question of this thesis.

Notes

[1] It should been noted that Elias also argued that the growth of individualization was linked 'to the growing commercialization and the formation of states, to the rise of rich court and urban classes and, not least, to the noticeably increasing power of human beings over non-human natural events' (Elias, 2001: 97-8).

[2] While they cannot be considered in detail here, it is important to note that several criticisms of the figurational approach generally, and its application to sport and leisure in particular, have been advanced by several sociologists and historians. These

have revolved around, among others, the suggestion that figurational sociology (especially Elias's theory of civilizing processes) is a grand theory which contains elements of evolutionism and functionalism (see, for example, Blackshaw, 2002; Collins, 2005; Giddens, 1984; Horne and Jary, 1987), is overly-generalized (Mouzelis, 1993, 1995), and an approach that uses the terms such as 'civilization' and 'civilized' in a heavily value-laden way (see, for example, Blackshaw, 2002; Collins, 2005; Rojek, 1995). However, as has been made abundantly clear elsewhere, many of these criticisms are often based on a misreading of the work of Elias and figurationalists generally and break down under critical scrutiny (see, for example, Curry *et al.*, 2006; Dunning, 1992, 1999; Murphy *et al.*, 2000).

[3] What figurational sociologists have had to say on human beings and their emotions generally has been discussed in greater detail elsewhere (see, for example, Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias, 1987; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Maguire, 1992, 2003), so the following passages will be confined to a discussion of the perspective figurationalists offer upon sport, leisure and the emotions.

[4] Elias and Dunning also suggested that it is possible to construct a 'work spectrum' that overlaps and dovetails in a variety of ways with the 'spare time spectrum'. For a detailed discussion, see Elias and Dunning (1986). In a not dissimilar way, Roberts has also noted how people often obtain similar satisfying experiences – that are commonly generated in leisure – through forms of occupational employment (see, for example, Roberts, 1999).

[5] It should be noted that although these basic elements of leisure and main classes of leisure activities are distinguishable, they are, of course, inseparable and interdependent. In particular leisure activities, two or three basic elements can be fused together, while the two main classes of leisure activities can also be fused in a similar way and there is also a miscellaneous category (see, for example, Dunning, 1996, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). The degree of sociability that is generated in sport and leisure activities varies according to the contexts in which people find themselves and, as such, should be viewed as lying along a continuum that ranges from activities that are highly formal to those that are highly informal, with many intermediary grades. These kinds of activities can also be primarily school- (in the case of young people) or work-related (such as 'hanging around' with and visiting friends) and largely non-school or non-work-related (such as going to pubs and clubs, a restaurant or party, watching sport and chatting with friends) (see, for example, Elias and Dunning, 1986).

[6] Elias and Dunning (1986) did not use the concept of *Gemeinschaft* in the traditional sense where it involves a romantic yearning for a mythical lost past however. Rather, they argued that 'approaching the border of what is socially permissible and sometimes transgressing it, in short a limited breaking of social taboos in the company of others' (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 121ff) tends to be a central characteristic of 'leisure-*gemeinschaften*' and sport.

[7] It is not uncommon, however, for young people to be widely considered by other members of the public as 'uncivilized' if one thinks, for example, of the media and public reaction that often ensues in response to violent incidents that sometimes arise

in the context of so-called 'binge drinking' believed to be one characteristic of young people's leisure lives.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the main assumptions and 'sensitizing concepts' of the sociological perspective that provides the theoretical framework for this thesis: that of figurational sociology. The objectives of this chapter are: (i) to explain how these assumptions and concepts were used to inform the selection of the cross-sectional research design and two research methods – a two-part self-completion questionnaire and focus groups – that were employed in the study; and (ii) to describe and explain how the study was conducted.[1]

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches

In any discussion of research approaches and methods it is necessary to consider the conventional distinctions that are said to differentiate quantitative and qualitative research (Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Harden and Thomas, 2005; Punch, 2005). The first thing worthy of note, among other things, is that these two broad research approaches differ regarding the stances of their advocates regarding epistemological issues (that is, regarding what constitutes more-or-less adequate knowledge and how one discovers and confirms this) and ontological issues (that is, regarding the nature or character of the world in which we live, including the socio-cultural aspects of that world). In this regard, quantitative research approaches and methods (for example, questionnaires) are said to be underpinned by what is often referred to as a 'positivist' epistemology; that is to say, the acquisition of knowledge through the application of the principles and methods adopted from the

natural sciences, premised upon the ontological assumption that there is an 'objective' reality to be investigated in the social as well as natural world (Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Punch, 2005). Accordingly, quantitative researchers are said to favour a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research; in other words, they view the primary aim of their work as being the 'testing' of theories through research that enables them to formulate laws or 'law-like', causal explanations of social phenomena. By contrast, qualitative research approaches and associated methods (such as focus groups) are said to be underpinned by an interpretivist epistemological assumption that not all knowledge (of the social world in particular) is of the 'objective' kind, and an ontological assumption that there is a 'subjective' reality to be investigated in the social world (Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Punch, 2005). On this view, qualitative researchers place particular emphasis upon people's interpretations as the primary means of acquiring knowledge about the social world that, in so doing, represents an ontological position which suggests that social entities 'can and should be considered social constructions built up from perceptions and actions of social actors' (Bryman, 2004: 16). As such, proponents of the qualitative research tradition, the argument goes, tend to favour an inductive approach to their work wherein the primary aim is the generation of theory through research that places particular emphasis on people's interpretations of the social world (Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Punch, 2005).

There are, however, a number of problems with conceptualizing research approaches and methods in this conventional manner. Perhaps the first point to note is that, whilst there are researchers who are in practice less dichotomic in their approach to the selection of research approaches and methods in their work than the foregoing

discussion implies (Bryman, 2004), research approaches and their associated methods cannot simply and straightforwardly be divided dichotomously between those said to be 'quantitative' and those deemed 'qualitative' (Mason, 2006). *All* kinds of research in the 'real world' entails a particular blend of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the balance of which depends upon the research questions to be answered and the kinds of data needed to answer those questions (Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Harden and Thomas, 2005; Mason, 2006; Punch, 2005). Indeed, insofar as 'qualitative and quantitative approaches are in practice interwoven into the research process' (Brannen, 2005: 173), the tendency to conceptualize quantitative and qualitative approaches in terms of a dichotomy betrays the fact that research of a more 'quantitative' kind is always underpinned by a number of 'qualitative' assumptions. The latter, by contrast, often includes judgements that are consistent with terms that are more conventionally viewed as being synonymous with the former. Thus, quantitative research is only as useful as the qualitative assumptions on which it is based, and much qualitative research includes quantitative implications. It is sociologically more adequate, therefore, to view the research approaches and methods adopted in this study as being underpinned by a number of assumptions that can be conceptualized as lying upon a continuum along which degrees of 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' judgements are located, rather than in terms of a dichotomy between absolute quantitative or qualitative approaches.

The second problem of conventional characterizations of qualitative and quantitative research is that the particular features that are said to distinguish those approaches do not stand up to critical scrutiny (Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Harden and Thomas, 2005). For example, the claims that qualitative researchers focus

on words and meanings that are expressed through, for example, interviews, while those of a more quantitative persuasion are concerned with numbers (in particular, numerical data generated from surveys) and behaviour are misguided, for both qualitative and quantitative research is concerned with people's views and actions, as well as the generation of data in both a numerical and written form (Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Hammersley, 1992; Harden and Thomas, 2005).

The suggestion that quantitative and qualitative research investigations have to be inductive or deductive respectively, and their corresponding dichotomization into those that prioritize theory over method and *vice-versa*, is also based on a misconception: 'people's conception of the subject matter is ... inseparable from their conception of the method appropriate to the investigation' (Elias, 1978: 58). More particularly, depending on the theoretical perspective to which researchers subscribe, 'we ask different questions and are sensitized to different observations' (de Vaus, 2002: 11). Sociological theory, for example, has the capacity to structure understanding, it constrains the questions asked, the methods employed to answer those questions, and illuminates possible explanations that help to answer the sociological problem under investigation (Dunning, 1992, 1999). In this regard, *pace* the 'association of qualitative research with an inductive logic of enquiry and quantitative research with hypothetic-deduction' (Brannen, 2005: 175), there is an unavoidable interdependence or 'two-way traffic' (Elias, 1978) between theory and evidence in the research process. Indeed, as Elias (1978) noted, the need for a constant mutual cross-fertilization of theory and research throughout all phases of the research process is important, not least because it represents the only secure means of advancing knowledge about the phenomena under investigation that is more reality-

congruent and hence sociologically more adequate. It is *not* a characteristic of the figurational approach as some critics have claimed, therefore, that the insights 'inherited from Norbert Elias demands that interpretation be made secondary and subservient to its theory' (Blackshaw, 2002: 213). On the contrary, figurationalists argue that whilst the Eliasian framework has much potential to help us make sense of our theoretical and empirical observations by building upon existing theory and knowledge, this does not mean that the adequacy of Elias's theoretical insights are not open to modification if they are found to be relatively unproductive or too limiting in their contribution to the advancement of knowledge (Dunning, 1999). Indeed, Elias (1987) always stressed in this connection that given the interdependence between theory and empirical work, sociologists should always seek to relate their observations to a body of theory and *vice-versa* in the hope of contributing to, and building upon, a relatively reliable fund of social-scientific knowledge. He commented in particular that:

> it is characteristic of ... scientific ... forms of solving problems that ... questions emerge and are solved as a result of an uninterrupted two-way traffic between two layers of knowledge; that of general ideas, theories or models and that of observations and perceptions of specific events. The latter, if not sufficiently informed by the former, remains unorganised and diffuse; the former, if not sufficiently informed by the latter, remains dominated by feelings and imaginings (Elias, 1987: 20).

In short, an orientation towards ensuring that there is a constant dynamic interplay between theory and empirical enquiry throughout all phases of research, represents just 'one means for moving in the direction of that blend between involvement and detachment which is most conducive to (developing more) reality-congruent knowledge' (Dunning, 1992: 253).

The final point to note is that to speak in conventional terms of 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' approaches also presupposes that there exists two distinct forms of knowledge – characteristically referred to as objective and subjective – that social scientists seek to obtain using methods that are said to be particularly useful for generating knowledge of these kinds. Indeed, it is often for these reasons that any exploration of the social world should involve the use of research methods that are traditionally defined as 'quantitative' (such as questionnaires) to generate 'objective' knowledge and 'qualitatively' based methods (such as focus groups) to generate knowledge of a 'subjective' kind, or both of these alongside each other if the concern is to obtain both of these forms of knowledge (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Bryman, 2004).

For figurational sociologists and other social scientists, however, not only do such formulations perpetuate the misleading and unhelpful dichotomies between 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' and 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' research (Bryman, 2004; Murphy *et al.*, 2000), they are also characterized by an 'inadmissible dualism between ontology and epistemology' (Loyal, 2003: 50) and involve an inadequate conceptualization of the development of human knowledge. In this regard, figurationalists argue that there is an indivisible interdependence between what philosophers call 'epistemological' concerns and questions of an 'ontological' kind (Dunning, 1992). Thus, for figurational sociologists, a more adequate way in which to explain the ostensibly philosophical concepts of epistemology and ontology is not to view them as polar opposites, but as part of a broader sociological discussion of the development of human knowledge *per se* in which it is sociologically more adequate to conceptualize knowledge – of the social world – as a continuous social process that

is shared, developed and learned not by individuals in isolation, but by people bonded together in complex networks of social interdependencies (Dunning, 1992; Elias, 1978; Kilminster, 1998; Loyal, 2003; Mennell, 1998). Conceptualizing knowledge in this way, it is argued, enables researchers to appreciate more adequately its social nature and character without perpetuating the misleading dichotomy between 'philosophical absolutism' and 'sociological relativism' 'in which knowledge can only be true or arbitrary' (Wilterdink, 1977: 111); that is to say, without reinforcing the view that all knowledge must be considered as ideological or either true or false. Hence, in seeking to steer the ship between the 'Scylla of philosophical absolutism and the Charbydis of sociological relativism' (Elias, 1971; cited in Mennell and Goudsblom, 1998: 38), Elias proposed that it is more productive to view the problem of human knowledge as lying along a continuum ranging from degrees of involvement to detachment and conceptualizing explanations based on such knowledge in terms of varying degrees of adequacy (Elias, 1987).

Using mixed methods in research

Although it is the case that some researchers often select research approaches and methods to be used in a study on the basis of an 'ideological commitment to one methodological paradigm or another' (Hammersley, 1996: 162), this commitment comes to determine and limit the range of problems that they perceive to be researchable. An arguably more adequate way of approaching any research investigation, however, is to select one research method or a combination of methods that represents the most appropriate means of generating relevant data that help to explore the sociological problem under investigation (Bryman, 2004, 2006; Harden and Thomas 2005; Mason, 2006; Punch, 2005). More particularly, for figurational

sociologists, the selection of various research methods should also be based on the premise that they form part of theoretically-guided and empirically-informed research that contributes towards a developmental and processual understanding of society, which illuminates the ways in which the people who constitute those societies are interlocked in complex webs of social interdependencies. Indeed, insofar as the focus is on human figurations, central to the orientation of any figurationally-informed research project is an awareness of the unplanned outcomes that result from the unplanned interweaving of the unplanned needs of many unplanned people within a network of human interdependencies (Elias, 1978, 1987).

Nevertheless, though constrained by the theoretical perspective of the researcher, the research methods used in any study should be determined by the question being addressed, 'considered against the background of the context, circumstances and practical aspects of the particular research project' (Punch, 2005: 58) rather than by the personal preferences of the investigator.

The remaining sections of this chapter outline how the theoretical premises of figurational sociology and the available evidence in the sociology of youth, sport and leisure underpinned the selection of a cross-sectional, mixed method research design that incorporated a self-completion questionnaire and focus groups in order to address the central sociological problem of this thesis. More particularly, the chapter outlines how questionnaires and focus groups were used for different purposes, at separate phases of the research process, in order to generate different kinds of data and insights (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Brannen, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Hammersley,

1992, 1996; Harden and Thomas, 2005; Mason, 2006) into the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives.

Questionnaire surveys of young people's participation in sport and physical activity

The questionnaire survey (typically of the self-completion variety) emerged as one of the most popular sociological research methods after World War II (Goudsblom, 1977), and it remains one of the most widely-used research methods by sociologists, as well as other social scientists. Indeed, questionnaires are now a well-established and particularly useful means of generating baseline data on young people's participation in sport and physical activity – inside and outside of the educational context and at both the national level (see, for example, Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Mason, 1995; SCW, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Sport England, 2001, 2003a, 2003b) and local level (Cox *et al.*, 2006; Greater Manchester Sport, 2002; NRDA, 2005; Sport Cheshire, 2002). While surveys of this kind provided an initial framework upon which the questionnaire used in the present study was based, a number of conceptual and methodological problems associated with these were identified. These problems can perhaps be most clearly expressed through a comparison of the latest survey conducted by Sport England (2002) – the largest and most widely referred to study of its kind – and the Young People, Sport and Leisure (YPSAL) questionnaire used in the present study.

Young People, Sport and Leisure (YPSAL) Questionnaire

As part of the first phase of the cross-sectional mixed method research design used in this study, the YPSAL questionnaire[2] took the form of a two-part self-completion questionnaire that was completed by young people aged 15- and 16-years-old (Year 11). One of the main objectives of the questionnaire was to provide data on young people's participation in sport and physical activity and other leisure activities, as well as generating data on those people (for example, friends, parents, brothers, sisters and boy/girlfriends) with whom youngsters participated in those activities. In this regard, Part One of the questionnaire examined the levels, forms and patterns of young people's participation in a range of sports and physical activities in three contexts: (i) NCPE; (ii) extra-curricular PE; and (iii) their leisure time. In doing so, the YPSAL questionnaire sought to move beyond the conventional tendency (reflected in Sport England surveys) to examine young people's participation in just two broad categories, that is, in and out of school lessons, by differentiating between the ways in which school-aged youngsters participate in schools (that is to say, between NCPE and extra-curricular PE) and between school-based participation and their involvement in non-school, leisure-based sport and physical activity. In this regard, by paying particular attention to the specifically leisure-based aspects of young people's participation, the YPSAL questionnaire attempted to examine in greater depth and detail the complexities and realities of young people's participation in sport and physical activity. One particular aspect of this – the range of activities included in surveys – is worth exploring further.

Since 1994, Sport England has consistently used the same list of over 40 sports and physical activities from which young people are asked to indicate their participation

both inside and outside of school lessons. While the list is fairly comprehensive and has, understandably, remained standardized to permit comparisons in trends in participation between survey points, in its current form it includes some descriptions of activities that might be considered to be anachronistic (for example, 'keep-fit'). In addition, other categories of activity are insufficiently discriminatory (for example, 'football [inc. 5-a-side]' and 'snooker/pool/billiards') inasmuch as they do not permit identification of potentially significant levels of participation and trends in a sub-set of an activity (for example, those between snooker and pool and between 11-a-side, 5-a-side and 'kick-about' football). A related weakness of the Sport England survey is the failure to distinguish between the diverse forms that young people's participation in sport and physical activity takes. Indeed, while the Sport England (2003a) study tends to focus upon young people's participation in formalized, highly structured sports (in particular, team-based sport) competitions, it fails to examine the more informal and more potentially recreational aspects of their participation. This is a crucial distinction that needs to be made in order to capture the extent to which young people's participation tends to fluctuate between, whilst being characterized by, varying *degrees* of competitiveness and recreation.

With these conceptual and methodological shortcomings in mind, in each of the three sporting contexts – but particularly the leisure-sport context – examined in Part One of the YPSAL questionnaire, youngsters were asked to indicate those sports and physical activities in which they participate from an amended and extended list of activities (incorporating 'newer' popular lifestyle and culturally specific activities such as yoga, tai-chi and lacrosse) based on those included in the latest Sport England (2003a) study. In this regard, the YPSAL questionnaire sought to account more

adequately for the emergence in recent years of the increasingly diverse 'commercialized, consumption-based, body-image-oriented and highly individualized fashions such as jogging, aerobics and the use of mechanized fitness clubs' (Dunning and Waddington, 2003: 355-6) associated with the sporting lifestyles and preferences of young people. The questionnaire also sought to distinguish between young people's propensity towards engaging in sport and physical activity not only in more structured forms of participation (such as that offered in the schools and in local sports club contexts), but also in less-formally organized kinds of involvement. More specifically, in the latter context, the YPSAL questionnaire focused upon youngsters' sport and physical activity participation in indoor, facility-based, often highly-individualized lifestyle activities that are frequently conducted in a diverse range of leisure facilities settings (such as sports and leisure centres, youth clubs, health clubs and gymnasia as well as snooker and pool halls), as well as those activities that are often conducted in less-formal, more potentially recreational settings (including park and street-based activities such as 'kick-about' football with friends).

Another problem with existing Sport England surveys (Mason, 1995; Sport England, 2001, 2003a) – though the point may equally apply to other similar surveys (see, for example, SCW, 1995, 2001, 2003a) – and possibly their greatest weakness, has been the persistent failure to view young people's participation as an aspect of their lives 'in the round'; that is to say, in conjunction with other aspects of their leisure lives (such as their use of media-oriented leisure and consumption of legal and illegal drugs). The failure to consider young people's lives 'in the round' comes to determine and de-limit the extent to which Sport England and other sporting bodies can adequately examine the complex interrelationships that exist between the sporting and

other aspects of young people's leisure and lifestyles. Indeed, leaving aside those questions that seek data on the young person's biography and family background, of the 42 questions included in Sport England's (2003a) most recent survey, just four questions (on TV/video/DVD viewing; computer use; part-time employment; and homework) directly examined the non-sporting aspects of young people's lives and no attempt was made to relate young people's answers to these questions with those that explored their participation in sport and physical activity.

Thus, in an attempt to begin to examine the interrelationships between, and significance of, 15-16-year-olds' leisure for their lives generally, and their sporting lifestyles in particular, Part Two of the YPSAL questionnaire explored, in separate sections, the levels, forms and patterns of participation in young people's: (i) use of home-based leisure (including watching TV and sport in particular, computer and video games playing, listening to music, reading and other hobbies); (ii) sports spectatorship and use of out-of-home leisure provisions (such as cinemas, shopping centres, local parks, youth clubs, discos, pubs and bars) as well as other socializing situations where young people meet and 'hang around' with friends; (iii) income and employment status; and (iv) use of legal and illegal drugs. In doing so, Part Two of the questionnaire was informed by, and incorporated similar questions that have been used in existing surveys and research – examined in Chapter One – that have examined various aspects of young people's non-sporting leisure lifestyles.

In summary, the YPSAL questionnaire was designed with a view to overcoming the two prevailing tendencies in those studies of young people's lifestyles that have used

self-completion questionnaires as part of a survey. The first is that many of these studies have focused almost exclusively upon either the sporting or non-sporting dimensions of young people's lives. The YPSAL questionnaire, by contrast, endeavoured to examine sporting and leisure lives of 15-16-year-olds, that is, it was premised upon the need to study them as whole people 'in the round'.[3] Second, survey research of the kind conducted by Sport England – 'even when executed in the most thoughtful manner' (Goudsblom, 1977: 62) – remains focused on separate individuals and distinct aspects of their lives. Such surveys provide the basic data but the responses reported therein 'are subsequently boxed together into all sorts of social categories' (Goudsblom, 1977: 62) and the actual complexities and interrelationships between aspects of their lives and the figurations formed by the respondents 'never come into the foreground' (Goudsblom, 1977: 62). In this regard, it would be a mistake to simply assume that the kinds of statistical data – that 'contain only isolated fragments of knowledge' (Goudsblom, 1977: 40) – generated by any questionnaire of this kind were, of necessity, the most adequate way of increasing the social fund of knowledge about young people's participation in sport, physical activity and leisure. As Goudsblom (1977) has noted, focusing solely upon statistical data runs the risk of sacrificing sociological significance to statistical significance, and whilst such data may point to a particular pattern of behaviour or correlation, they cannot in themselves provide an explanation. This is not to say, however, 'that there is no place in sociological research for statistical studies dealing with common features in the behaviour of members of certain groups' (Elias, 1978: 132) such as young people. Rather, in many cases statistical data 'are indispensable' (Elias, 1978: 132) to studies of the kind reported in this thesis. In the present study such data played an essential part – 'that of indicators, pointing to specific variations in the way (young) people are

caught up in a network of relations' (Elias, 1978: 98-9) that generate intended and unintended consequences for those who constitute those relational networks. In this regard, with a view to illustrating how it is possible to explain more adequately the place and significance of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, the remaining chapters in this thesis locate the statistical data generated by the questionnaires in a broader developmental framework and, in doing so, endeavour to explain the trends suggested by the data in relation to broader social processes.

The pilot study

In order to test its adequacy for use with young people in the main study, the two-part survey was piloted with Year 11 pupils (15-16-year-olds) in two secondary schools in the north-west of England during March 2003.[4] School One was located in a largely working-/upper-working-class area that has high levels of deprivation and where approximately one-third of its pupils achieve five or more GCSE passes at Grade A* to C. In School One, of the 126 pupils who comprised the Year 11 population, 83 (65.9%) completed questionnaires of which 62 (74.7%) were returned fully complete and included in the final analysis. The remaining 43 pupils were absent on the day of the survey. School Two, by contrast, was located in a largely middle-/upper-middle-class region with very low levels of deprivation and where just over two-thirds of its pupils achieve five or more GCSE passes at Grade A* to C. Data were obtained from 184 of the 212 Year 11 population (86.8%), of these 174 (94.6%) were returned fully completed. Twenty-eight pupils were absent on the day of the survey. In total, 236 of 338 (69.8%) Year 11 pupils who attended both schools completed questionnaires.

At School One, at the headteacher's request – due to timetabling and teaching constraints – both parts of the questionnaire were administered in one visit and during a Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) lesson (lasting 45 minutes). At School Two, Parts One and Two of the questionnaire were, upon the Head of Year's request, administered in extended registration periods (each lasting 30 minutes) on two consecutive days. Participants were not advised of this two-stage approach since it was considered that this might compromise their willingness to attend the following day's session. Only those pupils who completed the first half of the questionnaire were asked to complete Part Two on the second visit to the school.

On the basis of lessons learned from the pilot study, a number of amendments were made to the questionnaire. These included: (i) the re-ordering of particular sections in order to improve the structure of the questionnaire; (ii) the inclusion of additional questions while others were dropped; and (iii) a reduction in the number of possible options available to the respondent in particular questions. It also became clear that in order to ensure that the questionnaire would sustain the motivation and interest of the young people in the main study, to provide teachers with a degree of control over the way in which the questionnaire were distributed, and to provide sufficient time for completion it would be necessary to administer the questionnaire on two separate occasions in the manner conducted in School Two.

The following two sections outline in greater detail how and with whom the questionnaires were administered in the main study.

The main study: survey sampling strategy

Participating schools

The sampling frame for the study included all state secondary schools (including local authority and grant-maintained schools) in the north-west of England and north-east of Wales. Once the Local Education Authority Chief Adviser for secondary schools and the Adviser for PE had given written agreement regarding the suitability of the research and permission to contact the schools, covering letters that outlined the nature and purpose of the study were then sent to headteachers at 30 schools. The schools and young people therein were chosen to represent the various cities, new towns and rural locations (including small villages) typical of the two regions. More specifically, on the basis of official data obtained from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the former Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) for the academic year 2003/2004, the sample of schools was chosen according to eight criteria that are used by the DfES and DETR to characterize the kinds of schools in England. These categories were:

- If the school was single- or mixed-sex;
- The age of pupils educated there;
- The type of school (e.g. comprehensive);
- Whether the school was a specialist school (e.g. sports college);
- The percentage of pupils who achieved 5 or more A*-C grade GCSEs;
- The Local Education Authority (LEA) in which the school was located;
- Whether the school had any particular religious affiliation; and
- The type of governance of the school (e.g. community-funded).

In order to help ensure, as far as possible, that the selected sample of schools was broadly representative in terms of the diverse catchment areas and of the social backgrounds of the pupils, the proportion of pupils entitled to free school meals (FSMs) and the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2004 scores of the Super

Output Areas (SOA) in which the schools were located were also used as indirect measures to indicate the kinds of social locations (for example, neighbourhoods) in which schools are to be found (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister [ODPM], 2006).[5]

After a minimum of three follow-up attempts (via post, email or telephone) to secure each of the school's involvement, seven headteachers (23%) agreed for their school to participate in the study. The remaining headteachers were either unable to accommodate the research within existing time and teaching constraints or did not reply to the requests to be involved in the study. The key characteristics of the seven schools that participated in the study are presented in Table 3.1, from which it can be seen that all of the participating schools were state-funded, mixed-sex comprehensive schools and, with the exception of School F, which was a voluntary-aided Catholic school, all schools were non-denominational and community-funded. Four of the schools had been designated Specialist School Status (two Specialist Sports Colleges; one Technology College; and one Mathematics, Computing, Business and Enterprise College) and five were also schools with Sixth-Forms. Four of the participating schools were located in Cheshire; the remaining three schools were situated in Halton, Flintshire and Liverpool (Table 3.1). The schools ranged considerably in terms of the proportion of pupils achieving five or more A*-C grades at GCSE level (from 15% in School D to 70% in Schools C and G) (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Key characteristics of the participating schools*

School	Single/ mixed sex	Age of pupils	School type	Specialist Status	5A*-C GCSEs (%)[5]	LEA	Religious affiliation	Type of governing	Pupils Eligible for Free School Meals (%)[6]	Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) Score[7]	Rank of IMD[8]
A	Mixed	11-16	Comprehensive	None[1]	27	Cheshire	Non-denomination	Community	41.9	39.64	4,712
B	Mixed	11-18	Comprehensive	TC[2]	55	Cheshire	Non-denomination	Community	19.4	25.32	10,436
C	Mixed	11-18	Comprehensive	MCB&E[3]	70	Cheshire	Non-denomination	Community	4.3	8.65	25,598
D	Mixed	11-16	Comprehensive	None	15	Halton	Non-denomination	Community	39.7	44.53	3,401
E	Mixed	11-18	Comprehensive	None	66	Flintshire	Non-denomination	Community	7.4	12.2	1,343
F	Mixed	11-18	Comprehensive	SSC[4]	29	Liverpool	Catholic	Voluntary	31.0	44.56	3,393
G	Mixed	11-18	Comprehensive	SSC	70	Cheshire	Non-denomination	Community	6.3	5.78	29,196

* All schools are state-funded; [1] At the time that the study was conducted, this school was in the process of applying for Specialist Sports College status. The school has since been granted such status; [2] Technology College; [3] Mathematics, Computing, Business and Enterprise College; [4] Specialist Sports College; [5] Based on the results for academic year 2003/2004; [6] Based on the total number of pupils on roll for academic year 2003/2004; [7] Based on 2004 IMD Scores (OPDM, 2006); [8] Based on Rank of IMD 2004 for England (OPDM, 2006), with the exception of School E, which is based on Rank of IMD for Wales (National Assembly for Wales, 2006).

The schools also ranged considerably in terms of the IMD scores (from 5.8% for School G to 44.6% for School F) of the SOA in which they were located, and according to the proportion of young people entitled to receive FSMs (4.3% in School C to 41.9% in School A) (Table 3.1). On the basis of these criteria therefore, it could be argued that of the seven schools included in the study, three were located in what, for brevity's sake, can be described as largely lower-working/working-class regions, two were situated in areas that were mainly upper-working/lower-middle class in social profile, and the remaining two schools were drawn from locations that were largely middle-/upper-middle class in orientation. In this regard, the participating schools could be said to have been broadly representative of other schools in terms of the diverse range of social backgrounds of the 15- and 16-year-olds who attend those schools.

Participants

Before outlining the sampling strategy utilized to select the 15-16-year-olds for the first phase of this study, it is worth noting that in surveys – designed to generate data on young people's participation in sport and physical activity – agencies such as Sport England (2001, 2003a) and the SCW (1995, 2001, 2003a) seek to obtain nationally representative samples of this population group. It is particularly noteworthy, however, that of the 3,028 young people who participated in Sport England's (2003a) most recent survey, just 6% or 171 (unweighted; 5% or 151 weighted) of the respondents were Year 11 pupils drawn from 63 secondary (including middle and independent) schools. Thus, because of the sampling strategy adopted by Sport England, on average, just 2.7 pupils (unweighted; 2.4 weighted) from Year 11 were surveyed in each of the participating secondary schools. In this

regard, it seems reasonable to suggest that while Sport England base their analyses on a very small number of Year 11 pupils in a wide range of schools, by their very nature sampling strategies of this kind prevent the generation of detailed data on larger groups of young people and present only a partial picture of the levels, forms and patterns of participation among young people in any one school. These surveys also reveal little about the ways in which participation in NCPE and extra-curricular PE is influenced by individual schools and the extent to which participation varies between schools.

By contrast, in the present study, the distribution of the YPSAL questionnaire took the form of a census; that is to say, *all* 15- and 16-year-olds in Year 11 in each of the seven participating schools were included in the survey. The census approach was utilized in this study because, unlike the approach taken by Sport England and SCW, the intention was to generate detailed data on whole cohorts of young people in individual schools. In total, 1,440 young people were eligible for inclusion in the study. Of the 1,440 questionnaires that were distributed during the first two weeks of December 2003 and from late January to mid-May 2004 in the present study, 1,010 (497 males; 513 females) were completed; a response rate of 70%. Of these, 287 males and 316 females were 15-years-old and 210 males and 197 females were aged 16. The majority of young people (97%) were self-defined as being of White-British descent and 2% described themselves as being from 'any other White background'; the remaining 1% of the sample were comprised of youngsters from various other 'non-white' backgrounds (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Self-defined 'ethnic' background (n and %)

Sex	White British	White aob	Mixed white black Caribbean	Mixed white black African	Mixed aob	Asian or Asian British Indian	Asian or Asian British Pakistani	Asian or Asian British Bangladeshi	Chinese	Total
Male	479	13	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	497
	(96.4)	(2.0)	(0.0)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.4)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.0)	
Female	496	10	1	2	2	0	1	0	1	513
	(96.7)	(1.9)	(0.2)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.0)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.2)	
Total	975	23	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1,010
	(96.5)	(2.3)	(0.1)	(0.3)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.1)	

Table 3.3 Self-defined religious background (n and %)

Sex	Don't follow any religion	Church of England / Protestant	Catholic	Hindu	Buddhist	Sikh	Muslim	None of these	Total
Male	304	103	75	1	1	1	2	10	497
	(61.2)	(20.7)	(15.1)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.4)	(2.0)	
Female	257	177	68	1	0	0	2	8	513
	(50.1)	(34.5)	(13.3)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.4)	(1.6)	
Total	561	280	143	2	1	1	4	18	1,010
	(55.5)	(27.7)	(14.2)	(0.2)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.4)	(1.8)	

Over one-half of 15-16-year-olds (55%) described themselves as not following any religion, just under three-in-ten (28%) indicated that Church of England/Protestant best described their religious background, and 14% described themselves as Catholic. Approximately 3% of young people followed some other kind of religion (Table 3.3), while very few reported having a disability or long-term illness (5%) or a special educational need (SEN) of one kind or another (2%) (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Young people who reported having a disability or long-term illness, and a special educational need of one kind or another (n and %)

Sex	Disability/long-term illness No	Disability/long-term illness Yes	SEN No	SEN Yes	Total
Male	473	24	486	11	497
	(95.2)	(4.8)	(97.8)	(2.2)	
Female	483	30	503	10	513
	(94.2)	(5.8)	(98.1)	(1.9)	
Total	955	54	989	21	1,010
	(94.7)	(5.3)	(97.9)	(2.1)	

As Table 3.5 indicates, when asked to rate their current health as they perceived it, half of all 15-16-year-olds (51%) considered their health to be 'good', a further one-quarter (25%) rated their health as 'fair' and just under one-fifth (19%) described their health as 'very good'. Less than 5% rated their health as either 'bad' or 'very bad'. Approximately 16% of young people were entitled to receive a FSM (Table 3.6).

When asked about what they intend to be doing in 12 months time, seven-in-ten (72%) young people thought that they would be attending a sixth-form college to do AS and A levels, 11% saw themselves as attending college to do a vocational course of some kind, 6% of young people intended to do a modern apprenticeship, and a

further 6% intended to get a job. A smaller proportion felt that they would still be doing GCSEs (4%) or did not intend to do any of these (1%) (Table 3.7).

Table 3.5 Current self-defined rating of health (n and %)

Sex	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	Total
Male	112	255	107	20	3	497
	(22.5)	(51.3)	(21.5)	(4.0)	(0.6)	
Female	81	258	148	22	4	513
	(15.8)	(50.3)	(28.8)	(4.3)	(0.8)	
Total	193	513	255	42	7	1,010
	(19.1)	(50.8)	(25.2)	(4.2)	(0.7)	

Table 3.6 Young people who currently qualify for a free school meal (n and %)

Sex	No	Yes	Total
Male	410	87	497
	(82.5)	(17.5)	
Female	443	70	512
	(86.4)	(13.6)	
Total	853	157	1,010
	(84.5)	(15.5)	

Table 3.7 What young people intend to be doing in 12 months time (n and %)

Sex	GCSEs	College to do AS / A Levels	College vocational course	Modern apprentice -ship	Get a job	None of these
Male	24	335	43	49	42	4
	(4.8)	(67.4)	(8.7)	(9.9)	(8.5)	(0.8)
Female	20	388	65	16	22	1
	(3.9)	(75.8)	(12.7)	(3.1)	(4.3)	(0.2)
Total	44	723	108	65	64	5
	(4.4)	(71.7)	(10.7)	(6.4)	(6.3)	(0.5)

As Table 3.8 (below) indicates, approximately one-quarter (23%) of young people normally lived with their mother, father and brother/s, and a further one-fifth (20%) normally lived with their mother, father and sister/s. Seventeen per cent normally lived with their mother, father and brother/s and sister/s, while one-in-ten (10%) lived with their mother and father. The remaining 30% of young people usually lived with some other combination of family members (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8 Family members with whom young people normally live at home (n and %)

Family Member	Males	Females	Total
Mother, Father and Brother/s	121	112	233
	(24.3)	(21.8)	(23.1)
Mother, Father and Sister/s	98	106	204
	(16.9)	(20.7)	(20.2)
Mother, Father, Brother/s and Sister/s	84	85	169
	(16.9)	(16.6)	(16.7)
Mother and Father	54	51	105
	(10.9)	(9.9)	(10.4)
Mother only	23	15	38
	(4.6)	(2.9)	(3.8)
Mother and Sister/s	20	16	36
	(4.0)	(3.1)	(3.6)
Mother, Brother/s and Sister/s	20	14	34
	(4.0)	(2.7)	(3.4)
Mother and Brother/s	14	19	33
	(2.8)	(3.7)	(3.3)
Mother, Step Father and Brother/s	12	17	29
	(2.4)	(3.3)	(2.9)
Mother and Step Father	13	6	19
	(2.6)	(1.2)	(1.9)
Mother, Step Father, Brother/s and Sister/s	8	8	16
	(1.6)	(1.6)	(1.6)
Mother, Step Father and Sister/s	2	11	13
	(0.4)	(2.1)	(1.3)
Father and Sister	4	7	11
	(0.8)	(1.4)	(1.1)
Father only	6	4	10
	(1.2)	(0.8)	(1.0)
Other*	18	42	60
	(3.6)	(8.4)	(6.0)

Having outlined the main biographical characteristics of the sample of 15-16-year-olds who participated in the study, the following section explains the procedures by which the surveys were distributed. Before doing so however, it should be noted that since the sample was restricted to a cohort of primarily white British 15- and 16-year-olds who attended schools in a range of social locations, the findings of the present study, which are presented in the remaining chapters, cannot say much about the sporting and leisure lives of young people from other non-white ethnic backgrounds. Nor, for that matter, can the findings demonstrate how gender and social class

relations, among others, enable and constrain the participation of these groups in sport, physical activity and leisure.

Questionnaire administration

Permission to conduct the study in each of the participating schools was given by the headteachers, all of whom agreed that the questionnaire was suitable for completion by their pupils not least because, in their view, it was commensurate with the issues they believed their schools had a duty to examine as part of the PSHE curriculum more generally. Based upon the experiences of the pilot study, the YPSAL questionnaires were completed on two separate occasions – each lasting a maximum of 45 minutes – during Year 11 PSHE lessons or extended registration periods. On the first occasion, Part One of the questionnaire (that examined the sporting aspects of youngsters' lives as well as personal particulars) was completed, while Part Two (that examined the other aspects of young people's leisure lives) was administered on the second visit to each school. While the questionnaires were completed on two separate occasions, each questionnaire was labelled with a unique identifying code related to the young person's name; this enabled both parts of the questionnaires to be linked together once they were completed. It should be noted, however, that because of the logistical complexities involved in administering the two-part questionnaire and the time required of pupils to complete it in schools where existing timetabling constraints are especially pronounced, only those young people who completed the first half of the questionnaire were asked to complete Part Two. Thus, an inevitable 'cost' of employing such a research design in this study meant that the resultant sample, excluded groups of young people (30%; n=390) about which the researcher knew very little.

Before the questionnaires were completed on each occasion, the pupils were briefed about its nature and purpose, were reminded that they did not have to complete the questionnaire if they did not wish to do so and told that they could withdraw at anytime. In addition, all young people were given a guarantee of confidentiality and were told that neither they nor the school which they attended would be identified and that there was no space on the questionnaire for them to write their name. The consent that young people were willing to participate in the study was indicated by the completion and return of the questionnaires. None of the young people surveyed withdrew from the study once they had begun to complete the questionnaire.

On each visit to the schools, all questionnaires were distributed in a plain envelope and sealed and returned by the pupils to a box at the front of the classroom in which the survey was conducted. Each class teacher – who was more likely to know the needs of particular pupils and those of their class more generally – assisted the researcher with the logistics of classroom management while the questionnaires were distributed and completed. Once completed, the questionnaires were collected in sealed boxes from the various classrooms by the researcher.

The researcher was available 'on-site' – that is to say, in and around the rooms in which the questionnaires were completed – the young people were able to seek clarification of any issues raised within the questionnaire. In particular, this allowed the researcher to allay any potential concerns that the youngsters may have had regarding the confidentiality of their responses. Only a few concerns arose and these were all related to the final section of Part Two of the questionnaire that included questions about use of legal and illegal drugs. In all such cases, however, the young

people were reassured about the confidentiality of their responses and, insofar as the researcher could tell, this appeared to allay any concerns that they had.

Processing the questionnaire responses

All of the questionnaire responses were assigned numerical codes and hand-entered on a case-by-case basis into a statistical package (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences [SPSS] for Windows, v.12.0) loaded into a personal computer. Each participant (case) was identified by a unique digit-number that also incorporated his/her school affiliation. The data entry process was checked for its accuracy by the researcher reviewing the values entered in each row of the database against the original questionnaire codes. At this stage, each case was associated with 456 variables.

Many of the variables were subsequently analyzed in their raw form, that is, their distributions in the study sample were expressed as frequency counts (or proportions). Some of the variables were also manipulated (transformed) into new variables (or scores) and considered in terms of their variation according to the key independent factors of sex, age and school. The following paragraphs describe these data manipulations and the statistical analysis employed to address the hypotheses described earlier. As will become evident, participation levels were analyzed separately within the same discrete categories previously defined (NCPE, extra-curricular PE, and leisure sport and physical activity) and additionally between the categories.

Key data transformations and analyses

Three summative variables were computed to represent each young person's overall levels of participation in NCPE, extra-curricular PE and leisure over the previous 12 months. Since the distribution of two of these variables ('Total PE activity' and 'Total leisure activity') were found to be negatively skewed, the median was employed as the measure of central tendency for these data. For the 'Total extra-curricular PE activity', the mean was employed. To facilitate analysis of the interrelationships between these summary variables, individual values were re-classified into one of three categories; 'low', 'moderate' and 'high'. The actual cut-off points for these varied for each variable, as they were based on the quartile boundaries within each distribution. For 'total NCPE activity', 'low' equated to 1-5 sports, 'moderate' described those engaged in 6-12 sports, and 'high' 13-25 sports. For 'total extra-curricular PE activity', the equivalent cut-offs were 0, 1-2, and 3 or more sports, respectively, and 'total leisure activity', 1-3, 4-9 and 10-30, respectively.

Additional manipulations involved re-classifying individual activities into readily discernible themes. For NCPE, activities were grouped as 'invasion games', 'striking games', 'racket games', 'athletic and gymnastic activities', 'outdoor and adventure activities', 'swimming and diving' and 'dance'. For extra-curricular PE, activities were grouped as 'invasion games', 'striking games', 'racket games', 'athletic and gymnastic games', outdoor and adventure activities', 'swimming and diving' and 'dance', and for leisure sport and physical activity, 'team sports', 'partner sports', 'swimming and diving', 'outdoor and adventure activities', 'dance' 'athletic and gymnastic activities', 'health and fitness activities', 'combat sports and martial arts'

and 'ice-skating, roller-blading and skateboarding' were used. In this way, it was possible to explore how participation levels varied across these groupings.

Other variables, particularly those pertaining to leisure, were also re-grouped or re-classified in an appropriate manner to allow interrelationships to be explored. For example, the variable 'average weekly participation in sport and physical activity during leisure over the past 12 months' was assigned the categories, 'no participation', '1-2 times per week', '3-4 times per week' and '5 or more times per week'. Pursuits such as 'time spent watching TV, videos and DVDs on a school day', and 'time spent playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework on a school day' were re-classified into three or four categories, depending upon the prevalence of low cell (frequency) counts.

The examination of the relationships between the various NCPE, extra-curricular PE and leisure variables and sex, age and school was based on the generation of two-way cross-tabulations and accompanying test of the null hypothesis (i.e. that there is no relationship). The chi-squared statistic indicated whether there were discernible patterns in the relative frequencies of responses in each cross-tabulation (whether the variables were related) and the accompanying significance level allowed a judgement as to the likelihood that such relationships were due to chance and that the null hypothesis should not be rejected. A probability (p) value of < 0.05 was deemed appropriate for rejecting the null hypothesis, although in recognition of the desire to conduct multiple chi-squared tests and the increased risk of a Type I error that accompanies this, a stricter p-value of < 0.01 was adopted throughout.

Before considering the second research method that was used in the study, it is important to outline some of the potential limitations of the YPSAL questionnaire use in the study.

Limitations of questionnaires

Despite their extensive use over the past four or five decades, a longstanding problem with self-report questionnaires of the kind used in this study is the limitations regarding the reliability and validity of such measures (de Vaus, 2002; Shephard, 2003). Among the central reasons for this, it has been claimed, is the tendency for people to over report, for example, the frequency and duration in which they are involved in sport and physical activity, and to underestimate the time spent being sedentary and the amount of legal and illegal drugs consumed (de Vaus, 2002; Roberts and Brodie, 1992; Shephard, 2003). In the context of the present study, while it is acknowledged that there are numerous difficulties involved in trying to arrive at a precise estimate of the extent of young people's participation in sport and physical activity, as well as their involvement in other leisure activities and consumption of both legal and illegal drugs, this does not mean that researchers should simply abandon the attempt to estimate them. Indeed, it is important that researchers strive – insofar as it is possible – to estimate as accurately as possible the levels and patterns of participation using a variety of methods, including questionnaires and focus groups (see below). More specifically, while each of the sources used in the study may raise methodological difficulties of one kind or another, the fact that the study was not reliant on a single source but on a range of different sources (such as questionnaires, focus groups and other evidence that is available) helps to increase the validity of the findings.

In addition, Shephard (2003) has noted that these problems can also be exacerbated, among other things, by the fact that there are often seasonal and temporal fluctuations in participation that cannot always be accounted for adequately in questionnaires. This, it has been claimed, is also related to fact that there are also limits to the human memory which tends to decrease with the length of the period surveyed. As a consequence, using shorter time-frames (such as past monthly measures) in relation to estimating things such as participation in sport and physical activity are thought to be more accurate measures. It is important to note, however, that while an oft-cited weakness of questionnaires of the kind used in this study is the ability of young people to recall accurately over a 12 month period their involvement in things such as sport and physical activity, within the context of PE it is not necessarily appropriate to use shorter-time frames because of the seasonality of the sports and activities that young people are taught in PE and because most of the activities offered are delivered in 'blocks' or 'units' of time each term (usually between six-eight weeks). Thus, as Mason (1995: 12) noted in relation to her study, asking young people to reflect on their involvement in sport and physical activity via PE over a whole year is 'considered the best way of overcoming the problems associated with the seasonality of sport' insofar as it gives seasonal sports, such as cricket or rugby union and rugby league, as much chance of being included as sports and physical activities that are done all year round.

Furthermore, it is also important to note that the potential 'cost' of using questionnaires to explore the interdependent features of young people's lives, and the complexities involved therein, demanded that the questionnaire in this study became relatively long (37 pages in total). Whilst steps were taken to minimize the burden

this placed on the respondent – by, among other things, administering the questionnaire in two separate parts – it is commonly claimed that long questionnaires of the kind used in this study should be avoided not least because this can often significantly reduce the likelihood of the respondent completing it and/or providing answers that have a strong degree of internal coherence, validity and reliability (Bryman, 2004; de Vaus, 2002). However, as de Vaus (2002) observes, there is little evidence to support this common sense assumption and, moreover, it is difficult to disentangle the effect that the length of the questionnaire might have had on the response rate and the validity of the data generated from the sample type, the mode of administration, questionnaire format and so on (de Vaus, 2002).

In the present study, shortening the questionnaire to conform to what is considered an 'appropriate length' – which, incidentally, is usually unspecified by many of its proponents (de Vaus, 2002) – would have meant that the questionnaire was unable to address, to any great extent, the central sociological problem of the thesis. Rather than ensuring that the questionnaire conformed to some kind of arbitrarily-defined example of 'best practice' in questionnaire design, the questionnaire was made sufficiently comprehensive to answer the central research questions outlined in Chapter One.

One final consideration concerning the use of questionnaires in a study of the kind reported here is the experience that the researcher can gain by administering the questionnaire personally (Goudsblom, 1977; Strange *et al.*, 2003). Indeed, in contrast to the approach taken by large sporting bodies such as Sport England and SCW – who

typically employ external agencies (MORI and Beaufont Research Ltd respectively) to administer their questionnaires – the questionnaires in the present study were administered personally (with the help of teachers at the participating schools) by the researcher. While such a decision was partly a consequence of the financial and time constraints imposed upon the researcher, and one that led, correspondingly, to an increase in the time-consuming nature of the research (and thus helped to limit the number of schools involved in the study), there were, nevertheless, a number of advantages of personally administering the questionnaire in this manner (see, for example, Strange *et al.*, 2003). As Goudsblom (1977: 61) observes, one of the problems of not being personally involved in the administration of questionnaires – as in the case of Sport England and SCW – is that, in such situations:

> the researcher never even sees these people (the researched) personally; they are visited by paid interviewers who are not expected to take a lively interest in either their personalities or the aims of the investigation.

An additional consequence of administering questionnaires in this way is that researchers often lack '"intimate familiarity" with the actual field of their study; they are too remote from '"what is going on"' (Goudsblom, 1977: 61) to be able to judge the questionnaire results in an adequate manner. According to Goudsblom (1977: 61), this lack of familiarity with the people under study 'can be particularly striking in cases of secondary analysis, where the results from previous surveys are taken up by investigators who had nothing to do with the original study'. Thus, in the hope of maximizing the degree of 'intimate familiarity' with the young people involved in the study, therefore, the researcher sought – insofar as it was practically possible – to administer the questionnaire 'face-to-face' with the youngsters themselves in order to help enhance the adequacy of the explanations reliant thereon.

Having considers the potential limitations of the YPSAL questionnaire, the next section outlines the use of the second research method employed in the study, namely, focus groups.

Focus groups

The YPSAL questionnaire was designed to help address the sociological problem investigated in this thesis by generating mainly quantitative data on young people's participation in a range of sports and physical activities and other leisure activities. It is important to note, however, that while questionnaires can be particularly useful in this way:

> there may be profound discrepancies between the intentions of a sociologist who phrases a question, and the reasons for which a respondent decides to answer it in a certain way. In most cases it will be very difficult to detect, let alone to correct, such discrepancies without having recourse to methods other than the questionnaire (Goudsblom, 1977: 60).

One such method is focus groups or group discussions – as they are also known. While focus groups became an increasingly popular method in political and market research as well as in evaluations of health education programmes, it is only in the last decade or so that they have become a widespread and popular research method in the social sciences (Bloor *et al.*, 2001; Bryman, 2004; Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005; Kitzinger, 1994; Punch, 2005; Wilkinson, 1998). Indeed, as Punch (2005: 171-2) has noted:

> It is becoming increasingly common today to see them used in conjunction with surveys, sometimes to assist in developing questionnaires, and sometimes used after the survey to 'flesh out' views and information on topics surveyed.

In the present study focus groups were employed in the second phase of the research design to complement and help contextualize and explain the data generated by the YPSAL questionnaire by exploring in more detail, and probing more deeply, young people's views and experiences of sport, physical activity and leisure. Before outlining why focus groups were considered to be a particularly suitable method in this regard, it is important to note that the largely qualitative evidence generated by focus groups 'is most valuable when it can be set within the larger picture which can only be constructed from quantitative evidence from larger, and more representative, samples' (Roberts, 2003a: 24) such as that provided by the YPSAL questionnaire.

The nature and purposes of focus groups

The kinds of views young people offer and the shared experiences they recall when describing their involvement in sport, physical activity and leisure can only be fully understood by locating these shared meanings within the network of social relations characteristic of their lives. Focus groups were therefore selected on the assumption that 15-16-year-olds are not 'self-contained and separate from other people' but are more adequately conceived of as 'people bonded together in dynamic constellations' (Murphy *et al.*, 2000: 92): as interdependent people comprising complex webs of social interdependencies. More specifically, because they can be of real benefit 'for researchers who are primarily interested in participants' own meanings and understandings' (Wilkinson, 1998: 190) – that are shared and developed within the context of their social relations with others (Payne and Payne, 2004) – focus groups were utilized in an attempt to replicate the kinds of social contexts within which young people come to form, amplify, express and possibly modify their views and experiences of sport, physical activity and leisure (Bloor *et al.*, 2001; Darbyshire *et*

al., 2005; Payne and Payne, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998). In other words, because young people's 'opinions, feelings and attitudes are formed through (their) contacts with others' (Payne and Payne, 2004: 103) and are not simply the product of rational thought or reflective of knowledge that is developed absolutely independently of others with whom they live (Elias, 1978, 1987), focus groups were used in an 'attempt to reflect this by obtaining information from (young) people in groups' (Payne and Payne, 2004: 103). Thus, focus groups were utilized to shed light on the processes involved in the joint construction of shared meanings and commonly-held assumptions that underlie, and are associated with, groups of young people's views and experiences of sport, physical activity and leisure. In this vein, and as Wilkinson (1998: 189) has noted:

> Focus group interactions reveal not only shared ways of talking, but also shared experiences, and shared ways of making sense of these experiences. The researcher is offered an insight into the commonly held assumptions, concepts and meanings that constitute and inform participants' talk about their experiences.

Although focus groups are often conducted with people who are not known to each other – because of concerns that pre-existing styles of interaction and status differences may compromise the data generated (Bryman, 2004) – they are frequently used with 'pre-existing groups' made up of people who already know each other when the intention of the researcher is to help ensure that the prevailing discussion is as 'natural' as possible (Bloor *et al.*, 2001; Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005; Kitzinger, 1994; Payne and Payne, 2004; Punch, 2005). Indeed, conducting focus groups with 15-16-year-olds in pre-existing friendship groups, for example, allows them to 'relate each other's comments to actual incidents in their shared daily lives' (Kitzinger, 1994: 105) and to bring to the surface – in everyday language – common experiences of sport, physical activity and leisure that might not otherwise be exposed. In short,

participating in focus groups with friends with whom they are already familiar, allows young people to:

> recall common experiences, share half-forgotten memories, or challenge each other on contradictions between what they are *professing* to believe in the group and what they might have said or done outside the group (Wilkinson, 1998: 191; original emphasis).

For figurational sociologists and other social scientists, then, conducting focus groups with young people enables the researcher to generate data on the figurations or networks of interdependency in which an individual young person and the group as a whole are involved as well as the situations in which they find themselves. Indeed, because what young people 'think' and 'do' in relation to sport, physical activity and leisure, can only be fully understood by appreciating how such thoughts and actions are both enabled and constrained by the dynamic and diachronically changing figurations in which they are enmeshed (Elias, 1978), focus groups provide the researcher with an opportunity to examine young people's perceptions and experiences of their figurations. This point merits further attention.

Conducting focus groups – as with many other types of interview – with young people enables the researcher to 'ask respondents about their personal interests, their views about the personal interests of other people and their thoughts about the collective interests of groups to which they belong' (Roderick, 2003: 59). In other words, in the course of conducting focus groups, the researcher is seeking, in effect, to identify and compare both the 'I'- and 'we'- perspectives or more-or-less subjective interpretations of the young people whom they are studying, and to examine how these subjective perceptions help to clarify the unintended outcomes that result from them being interdependent with many other people within the

relational network of which they are a part (Elias, 1987; Goudsblom, 1977). Studying young people individually and in the figurations of which they are a part, as well as the situations in which they find themselves, in focus group situations, moreover, provides sociologists with an opportunity to try placing themselves within the world of experience of those groups and attempt, insofar as possible, to convey something of the language and meanings young people give to their social actions (Goudsblom, 1977). By identifying with the 'I'- and 'we'- perspectives of young people in focus groups it becomes possible to begin to understand something of the ways in which certain objects and the actions of each young person are meaningful both to themselves and others (Goudsblom, 1977; Roderick, 2003).

This should not, however, lead to the uncritical acceptance of these 'I'- and 'we'-perspectives or the interpretations people themselves offer for their behaviours uncritically. Taken on their own such views can often be misleading and even contradictory and may involve, on the part of the participants themselves, different degrees of deliberate falsification or retrospective rationalizations that serve to bolster preferred impressions about their own and others' actions (Goudsblom, 1977). Consequently, while 'I'- and 'we'-perspectives are indispensable in sociological analysis and should be examined in the context of focus groups not because any of them may reveal the 'truth', but because they are all constituent parts of the figurations in which young people find themselves, 'so are "they"-perspectives which show the figuration from a greater distance, and may thereby offer a fuller view of how the intentions and actions of the various groups are interlocked' (Goudsblom, 1977: 181). This therefore requires the researcher to seek, insofar as possible, to combine simultaneously their capacity to empathize or identify with the young people

whom they are studying with a certain critical degree of detachment from them, that is, to combine them with the capacity to locate the acquired data in a relatively detached framework that helps them to avoid 'going native'. Whilst there are manifold problems involved in what Weber called *Verstehen* – that is, the search for empathetic meaning and understanding – and the challenges faced by sociologists when seeking to maintain and combine an effective balance between involvement and detachment in practice (Elias, 1956, 1987), the capacity to locate the data generated by focus groups in a relatively detached framework helps to distinguish between the more-or-less mythical, more-or-less fantasy, views of young people from those that are detached to a greater degree (Elias, 1978, 1987; Roderick, 2003).

Themes explored in the focus groups

As noted above, the central objects of the focus groups were to contextualise and examine in greater detail many of the issues explored in the survey and, in particular, to explore the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives by probing their perceptions and experiences of their figurations, the activities in which they are involved, and the situations in which they find themselves. In this regard, the focus groups explored the 'lived experiences' of young people, how the ways in which various sports, physical activities and other leisure pursuits are integrated into their lives, and how the meanings given to those activities reveals what it *means* to be a young person.

With these things in mind, by testing some of the theoretical premises set forth in Chapter Two, the broad areas of enquiry explored in the focus groups included young people's: (i) involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity[6]; (ii) use of

commercialized leisure provisions and various forms of media; (iii) consumption of legal and illegal drugs; and (iv) if they were employed in part-time jobs, where, when and how often they work, as well as how they spend the money they earn from doing so.[7] In addition to these broad areas of enquiry, the focus groups explored in depth the reasons why and with whom young people participated in their chosen leisure activities. In particular, the focus groups focused upon those elements that appear central to the experience of leisure and that are recurrently generated in leisure contexts, namely, sociability, the generation of pleasurable excitement as a counter-balance to boredom, and the enjoyment and friendly emotionality that are derived from being engaged in leisure activities of various kinds.

Underlying each of the aforementioned areas of enquiry, therefore, was a concern to identify common patterns of behaviour by exploring the individual and shared meanings, as well as contrasting, experiences and understandings that young people have of the activities in which they were involved. To that end, many of the questions sought to identify, simultaneously, the individual and group habituses of young people, and the various figurations to which they belonged in the past and that they continue to form in the present. In this regard, the focus groups explored the processual nature of young people's lives and, in particular, the changing importance of significant others (such as friends, parents, teachers, family members, sport and leisure providers, government, and so on) within their networks as they have grown older, and the unintended outcomes that are the normal result of the unintentional interweavings of the people who comprise those human figurations. Thus, this line of questioning was intended to help examine the ways in which young people continually attempt to cope with the problems and unintended outcomes that arise

from their social interdependence with others, whilst revealing something about the pressures they experience in the context of their increasingly individualized lifestyles.

Having outlined the main issues or themes that were explored in the focus groups, the next two sections describe how and with whom they were conducted.

Focus group sampling strategy

Those young people who completed the YPSAL questionnaire in the first phase of the research provided a sampling frame for the focus groups. The Head of Year (HoY) 11 at each of the participating schools was then asked to identify and select for participation in the focus groups young people who, in their opinion, were as representative (in terms of their academic ability and involvement in sport and physical activity) as possible of the broad cross-section of Year 11 pupils to be found in their school. More specifically, each HoY and, in some cases, form tutors, was asked to construct at least one all-male and one all-female group of between five and nine young people who were already a part of the same pre-existing friendship group. The HoY at each of the schools was asked to select the focus group participants for several reasons. First, because those who completed the YPSAL questionnaire were given a guarantee of confidentiality that their responses would be entirely anonymized, it was impossible to select focus group participants on the basis of their individual survey responses. Second, in the light of what was learned from the pilot study phase of the research, it became clear to the researcher that in the course of conducting the study in schools it was necessary to provide the teachers with a degree of control over the ways in which the participants were selected. Thus, in attempting to minimize the impact that the focus groups would have upon the day-to-day

constraints under which teachers and pupils work, and because the success of the study was contingent upon the willingness of the schools to remain involved in the second phase of the research, the HoY was asked to select participants according to what was most logistically feasible for them, whilst retaining the criteria that they were given for selecting pupils. Third, since the researcher knew very little about the particular biographies of individual young people as well as the friendship groups to which they belonged, the HoY would be better placed to select the focus group participants, many of whom they would have known for several years. Whilst not ideal in methodological terms, the resultant sample of participants in the focus groups consisted of young people who were, simultaneously, purposively selected and chosen on the basis of convenience for the schools involved in the study.

In this regard, a total of 153 15-16-year-olds (85 males; 68 females) from the seven participating schools participated in the focus groups between February and May 2004. Of those who participated in the focus groups, 11 (6 males; 5 females) were from School A, 15 (8 males; 7 females) attended School B and 13 were educated at School C. A total of 43 attended School D (27 males; 16 females), 19 (11 males; 8 females) were from School E, 14 (7 males; 7 females) youngsters attended School F, and 38 (20 males; 18 females) were from School G. Consequently, because of variations in the extent to which each of the schools were able to accommodate the aforementioned requests of the researcher, slightly more males than females and pupils who attended schools (Schools A, D and F) that were located in largely lower-working/working-class areas were represented in the sample of the focus group participants.

Procedure

Between four and eight 15-16-year-olds participated in 24 single-sex focus groups that consisted 'of the kinds of people with whom the participants normally mix' (Payne and Payne, 2004: 104); that is, their friends and class-mates. Among other things, single-sex focus groups were conducted because pupils were frequently taught in single-sex groups in PE and tended to be members of largely same-sex friendship groups outside of school. In that sense, the focus groups were conducted with groups of young people together 'in situations ... quite normal for them' (Bryman, 2004: 358).

Each focus group lasted for between 30 and 45 minutes and took place in a quiet school classroom or office and was conducted by the researcher (who acted as the facilitator in each focus group) and a second investigator[8] (who acted as a scribe and who managed the recording of each focus group). Each focus group took place without the presence of a teacher and were audio tape-recorded with the permission of the headteacher and the participants themselves. In order to help allay any suspicions concerning the use of the data, at the beginning of each focus group all of the young people were given a verbal guarantee of confidentiality that neither they nor the school would be identified, and were told that the audio-tape could be stopped at anytime should they request/desire this for any reason. In addition, since schools are contexts in which the balance of power between adults and young people can, in many situations, be heavily skewed in favour of the former, and in the light of the fact that 'outsiders' are liable to be viewed by young people with caution, both the facilitator and second investigator introduced themselves on first-name terms and

stressed that the research was an aspect of a project currently being undertaken at a university and was not in anyway related to their school or their teachers.

In a further attempt to reassure the youngsters about the confidentiality of their responses, the facilitator began each focus group with a brief, standardized explanation of the nature of the focus group and how it related to the YPSAL questionnaire that they had completed previously. In this regard, the participants were told that the primary aim of the research was to provide them with an opportunity to discuss, in an informal way, their views and experiences of sport and physical activity as well as other aspects of their leisure using their own everyday terms. Whilst it was stressed that the focus groups were intended to be informal in this manner, and that the purpose was to try to understand the reality of young people's lives from the *their* perspective (Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005), in an attempt to manage the focus groups effectively it was emphasized to the participants that while they should all get a chance to speak, only one person should try to speak at any time and that no one had to put up their hand to talk.

In order to generate responses from the participants in a relatively open-ended way, and to help put them at ease and to encourage further discussion (Bryman, 2004; Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005; Payne and Payne, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998), each focus group began with a few open questions on the kinds of sports and physical activities in which the young people were involved in their leisure time. Thereafter, the facilitator encouraged further spontaneous discussion by asking open questions that were based on the themes prepared beforehand (noted earlier); that is to say, questions that were designed to elicit their views on, and experiences of, sport, physical activity and

leisure. The facilitator only intervened in the discussion by asking more structured questions when it was clear that the conversation was going off-track, where there was continuous repetition of the same point or where there were unproductive silences. In doing so, this line of questioning enabled the facilitator to:

> navigate the channel between, on the one side, addressing the research questions and ensuring comparability between sessions, and, on the other side, allowing participants to raise issues they see as significant in their own terms (Bryman, 2004: 355).

It is important to point out, however, although 'focus groups *focus* on particular issues that are introduced in a predetermined order as carefully worded, open-ended questions or topics' (Payne and Payne, 2004: 105), the reality of the focus group situation meant that, in practice, each of the themes were rarely explored in exactly the same way nor, for that matter, were they covered in the same order. Once the focus groups had finished, the facilitator and second investigator thanked each of the participants and re-stated that their views were entirely confidential and that only they (the two researchers) would have access to the tape recordings and accompanying transcripts. A more detailed description of how the focus group data were analyzed is outlined next.

Thematic analysis of focus group data

All of the focus groups were transcribed verbatim and subjected to thematic analysis with a particular focus upon a 'search for meaning and understanding' (Arksey and Knight, 1999: 150) in the 'I'-, 'we'- and 'they'-perspectives of the participants that help to 'show something of the dynamics of social relationships among group members' (Arksey and Knight 1999: 75). Perhaps the first point to note, however, is that reflecting the interrelated nature of their lives, the young people who participated

in the focus groups often did not compartmentalize their responses into neat convenient categories. Thus, since 'meaning is an ineradicable dimension of the social world' (Goudsblom, 1977: 183), the analysis – which unavoidably meant that the researcher had to rely on the interpretations of human behaviour as they were offered by the young people themselves – took the form of identifying, by hand, the particular phrases, themes and enduring patterns that were evident within young people's views upon their experiences of sport, physical activity and leisure (Bryman, 2004). To that end, as the transcripts of the taped focus groups and field notes were read over and over, the questions and responses that young people gave were considered in relation to key theoretical concepts, including 'figurations', 'habitus', 'power', 'individualization', 'informalization' and 'unplanned outcomes'.

These 'sensitizing concepts' were used to help arrange the data into categories of meaning based upon the key themes of the focus groups – such as young people's involvement in leisure sport and physical activity, their use of commercialized leisure provisions, their consumption of legal and illegal drugs, and so on. These categories were then amended to incorporate other areas of concern that emerged from the focus groups, such as 'enjoyment', 'excitement', 'informality, 'sociability' and the 'significance of friends'. In this manner, all of the categories of meaning were subsequently refined to ensure that all of the different kinds of 'units of analysis' (Bryman, 2004: 187) were considered and were cross-checked thoroughly until 'a saturation point' (Roderick, 2003: 71) was reached.

Limitations of focus groups

The focus groups used in this study sought to encourage 15-16-year-olds to speak as 'realistically' and authentically as possible by, among other things, creating a supportive environment for them – notably, by conducting the focus groups as far as possible in the company of their friends and peers. Nevertheless, the young people who participated in the focus groups – although the point applied equally well to questionnaires – were studied in more abstract than 'real' terms; that is to say, out of context, away from situations in which they do sport and physical activity or other behaviours such as drinking alcohol and smoking (Darbyshire *et al.*, 2005; Kitzinger, 1994). As such, and as Kitzinger (1994) observes, it is misleading to suggest that the data generated by pre-existing groups of young people in this study are by definition 'natural'; that is, youngsters' perceptions were exactly the same as those that might otherwise have been made had the group not been convened for the purpose of the research.

It is also recognized that the interpretations young people offered of their participation in sport and physical activity, as well as other aspects of their leisure lives, as part of the focus groups were likely to 'bear the stamp of higher ... (or) lesser detachment or involvement' (Elias, 1987: 4) and thus possess varying degrees of congruence with reality. In the light of this, it was necessary to remain appreciative of the need during the focus groups to follow-up ostensibly inconsistent responses by young people – individually and collectively – in order to distinguish between the more-or-less mythical or reality-congruent interpretations they offered (Elias, 1956, 1987). This was particularly important, for example, when probing young people's views upon what might have been, for some of them, sensitive issues – such as their use of legal and illegal drugs or lack of involvement

in sport and physical activity – and ones that were perhaps likely to be 'amended' (consciously and otherwise) in response to the comments of others in the group.

In this regard, when apparently contradictory interpretations were offered by the group, the researcher sought to encourage the participants to elaborate on, and discuss in further detail, the kinds of things they said and why they came to the conclusions they did. This often took the form of recalling particular experiences with which they were all familiar and clarifying their thoughts about what had happened from their point of view (for example, where and with whom they first used illegal drugs, and if they themselves or other people whom they personally know still do, how much and how regular they did so). On other occasions, the conversations between the participants often involved them negotiating and comparing – using percentage estimates – the extent to which they and their immediate friendship groups were involved in particular kinds of activities compared to other groups of youngsters both in their school generally and school year specifically. Conversations of this kind were particularly useful not least because they helped to convey a sense of the degree to which the activities being discussed were more-or-less popular among their age-peers (some of whom may have also completed questionnaires but who did not necessarily participate in the focus groups) that, in so doing, helped to 'check out', as it were, the kinds of responses offered by others in the study.

It is important to note, however, that as a young person with a deep attachment to sport and physical activity researching other young(er) people's views on the relationships between sport and physical activity and other aspects of their lives,

the researcher was unavoidably *involved* to some extent with the young people and the topic under study throughout all aspects of the research, but particularly during the focus groups. One of the benefits of such 'motivating and familiarity-conferring *involvement*' (Dunning, 1999: 9; original emphasis), which was illustrated during the course of the focus groups especially, is the ability to utilize one's 'insider' knowledge and experience in order to appreciate, and make greater sense of, young people's terminology and the various forms of contemporary leisure in which they were involved (Elias, 1956, 1987). Fraser (2004) has noted in this regard that:

> a researcher must have a vocabulary and conceptions that relate to the (young person's) conception of their world. Such vocabularies and conceptions emerge *in situ with* the ... young person and need to be negotiated with as few preconceptions as possible (p. 24; original emphasis).

In the context of the present study, one way in which the researcher's familiarity with the language and lifestyles of young people proved beneficial arose in the context of conversations about illegal drug use and, in particular, use of cannabis. While some young people, particularly those from higher up the social hierarchy, used the term 'cannabis', others from lower social strata more often than not referred to smoking 'weed'. Although this may appear on the face of it to be a trivial matter, use of such slang expressions by the researcher appeared particularly important with those youngsters who used them, not least because they appeared to be more-or-less accepted aspects of their vocabulary and had a number of well-understood meanings for them.

Notwithstanding the potential benefits of degrees of involvement with the research topic and research population on the part of the researcher, there were also clear risks

associated with involvement. For example, the constant requirement to seek to minimize the tendency for assumptions and analyses to exceed the evidence – that is, in striving to remain in a more detached frame of mind – was perhaps less difficult to achieve as the researcher consistently reflected upon the data generated by previous focus groups prior to conducting subsequent focus groups. In other words, reflecting upon the data in this particular manner and constantly relating theoretical observations to empirical data and *vice-versa* appears more conducive to the achievement of a greater degree of detachment than may have otherwise been possible when conducting the focus groups.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explain and justify the selection of surveys and focus groups that were conceived of as two of the most adequate research methods that could generate the kinds of relevant data that would help to answer the central sociological problem of this thesis, and outlined how the study was undertaken. On the assumption that sociologists should always relate their observations to a body of theory and their theory to a body of observations (Dunning, 1992; Elias, 1978), from the perspective of figurational sociology, the remaining chapters of this thesis explain how the data generated by the YPSAL questionnaire and focus groups help to provide a more reality-congruent and hence sociologically more adequate picture of the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives. More particularly, in attempting to move away from talking about abstract discussions of theory *per se* towards talking about theory in relation to research (Dunning, 1992; Elias, 1978), the chapters argue for the need to locate the data generated by the YPSAL questionnaire and focus groups in a broader developmental and relatively detached framework, and by

explaining the trends suggested by these data in relation to broader social processes. This is important, it is argued, because:

> Youth research needs to be longitudinal [9] in perspective even when the methods are snapshot. Youth is an inherently transitional life stage, so all studies need to engage with how their subjects' lives are changing. (Roberts, 2003a: 27)

More particularly, this is an important consideration for the present study, which incorporates a cross-sectional study of a particular cohort (15-16-years of age) in the final year of compulsory schooling, where the findings were inevitably limited to a snapshot of what young people were doing at a particular point in their lives. In this way, the findings reported in the remaining chapters of this thesis are reflective of a particular stage in the development of young people's lives and cannot, therefore, be seen as representing adequately the entire complexities characteristic of those lives.

Notes

[1] Whilst a lot more could be said about the implications of the figurational approach for the research approach and methods adopted in this study, the following must be enough in the present context as a starting point for such an analysis.

[2] A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix I.

[3] This, it should be noted, was also the purpose of the focus groups to be discussed later in this chapter.

[4] Ethical approval for this thesis was granted by the Centre for Public Health Research Ethics Committee at the University of Chester on 23rd October 2003.

[5] Free school meals are offered to children of families who are in receipt of Income Support or Income Based Job Seekers Allowance, and to those of families who are in receipt of Child Tax Credit only, but who are not entitled to Working Tax Credit, and whose annual income does not exceed £13,910. The IMD 2004 score is a Super Output Area (SOA) level measure of multiple deprivation that relates to income deprivation, employment deprivation, health deprivation and disability, education, skills and training deprivation, barriers to housing and services, living environment deprivation and crime (ODPM, 2006).

[6] While the YPSAL questionnaire explored young people's involvement in sport and physical activity via PE and extra-curricular PE, the focus groups focused almost exclusively upon the leisure aspects of young people's participation.

[7] A copy of the focus groups schedule can be found in Appendix II.

[8] The lead supervisor of the project acted as the second investigator assisted with the management of all focus groups.

[9] Or, for that matter, developmental.

Chapter Four

Young People's Participation in National Curriculum Physical Education

Introduction

Drawing upon the data generated by the YPSAL questionnaire and focus groups, this chapter will identify the main features of 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity in NCPE according to sex and the school attended. In addition, consideration will be given to one particularly pertinent theme evident in the views that young people expressed in the focus groups, namely, the provision of 'activity choice' in PE.

Number of sports and physical activities participated in during National Curriculum Physical Education

As Table 4.1 (below) indicates, all of the young people in this study had participated in at least one sport or physical activity as part of NCPE over the previous 12 months; the median number of activities in which they had participated was eight. In terms of the extent to which 15-16-year-olds participated in at least one sport and physical activity as part of NCPE over the previous 12 months, Table 4.2 shows that almost all young people (95%) had participated occasionally (defined as at least once per year) (93% males; 97% females).[1] On average, females participated in a wider range of activities occasionally (six) compared to males (four), with four-fifths of females and three-quarters of males reporting that they had participated in three or more sports and activities occasionally (Table 4.2).

Table 4.1 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by males and females in National Curriculum Physical Education in the past 12 months

Number of sports	Overall Total	Males Total	Females Total
0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
1	14	6	8
	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.6)
2	16	5	11
	(1.6)	(1.0)	(2.1)
3	56	38	18
	(5.5)	(7.6)	(3.5)
4	69	43	26
	(6.8)	(8.7)	(5.1)
5	98	52	46
	(9.7)	(10.5)	(9.0)
6	72	31	41
	(7.1)	(6.2)	(8.0)
7	96	47	52
	(9.5)	(8.9)	(10.1)
8	89	44	45
	(8.8)	(8.9)	(8.8)
9	77	32	45
	(7.6)	(6.2)	(8.8)
10	80	43	37
	(7.9)	(8.7)	(7.1)
11	83	38	45
	(8.2)	(7.6)	(8.8)
12	50	29	21
	(5.0)	(5.8)	(4.1)
13	55	27	28
	(5.4)	(5.4)	(5.5)
14	35	12	23
	(3.5)	(2.4)	(4.5)
15 or more	120	53	67
	(11.9)	(10.7)	(13.7)
Total	1,010	497	513

It can also be seen from Table 4.3 that 83% of young people (87% males; 78% females) reported participating frequently (defined as at least ten times or more per year) in at least one sport and physical activity. On average, males reported being involved in a slightly wider range of sports and activities frequently in NCPE (three) compared to females (two). Approximately one-half of males and females reported participating in three or more sports and activities frequently (Table 4.3).

Table 4.2 Number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally by males and females in National Curriculum Physical Education

Number of sports	Overall Occasionally	Males Occasionally	Females Occasionally
0	51	35	16
	(5.1)	(7.0)	(3.1)
1	66	36	30
	(6.5)	(7.2)	(5.8)
2	93	53	40
	(9.2)	(10.7)	(7.8)
3	108	62	46
	(10.7)	(12.5)	(9.0)
4	119	67	52
	(11.8)	(13.5)	(10.1)
5	104	51	53
	(10.3)	(10.3)	(10.3)
6	108	44	62
	(10.8)	(8.9)	(12.1)
7	86	36	50
	(8.5)	(7.2)	(9.7)
8	72	30	42
	(7.1)	(6.0)	(8.2)
9	64	30	34
	(6.3)	(6.0)	(6.6)
10 or more	141	53	88
	(14.0)	(10.7)	(17.2)
Total	1,010	497	513

Table 4.3 Number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently by males and females in National Curriculum Physical Education

Number of sports	Overall Frequently	Males Frequently	Females Frequently
0	181	66	115
	(17.9)	(13.3)	(22.4)
1	166	81	85
	(16.4)	(16.3)	(16.6)
2	138	74	64
	(13.7)	(14.9)	(12.5)
3	120	65	55
	(11.9)	(13.1)	(10.7)
4	81	38	43
	(8.0)	(7.6)	(8.4)
5	96	52	44
	(9.5)	(10.5)	(8.6)
6	62	32	30
	(6.1)	(6.4)	(5.8)
7	46	24	22
	(4.6)	(4.8)	(4.3)
8	38	21	17
	(3.8)	(4.2)	(3.3)
9	25	12	13
	(2.5)	(2.4)	(2.5)
10 or more	57	32	25
	(5.7)	(6.4)	(4.9)
Total	1,010	497	513

Sports and physical activities done during National Curriculum Physical Education

The 15-16-year-olds in this study reported being involved in a broad range of sports and physical activities during NCPE lessons, with 39 different activities being mentioned by males and 32 by females. The 20 most widely-played sports and physical activities that were done frequently by males and females are presented in Table 4.4. Among males, it is noticeable that there were clear differences in the proportions that reported participating in the top five most widely-played sports and activities, with football being by far the most widely-played sport undertaken followed by badminton, basketball, athletics, tennis and rugby union. These differences were rather less clear for females however, with equal proportions of young women reporting that they had played the two most widely-played sports (badminton and netball). Approximately one-fifth also reported participating in the next three most widely done activities, namely, rounders, trampolining and dance.

Whilst it is apparent from Table 4.4 that there were clear sex-related differences between the activities done in NCPE – most notably in relation to 'traditional' team games (such as football, netball, rugby union and hockey) – that were played by large proportions of males and females, similar proportions of both sexes participated in more individualized physical activities. Badminton, for example, was played by two-fifths of males and by similar proportions of females, while tennis was also played by two-in-ten young males and females. Other individualized activities such as multi-gym/fitness were also reported by one-in-ten males and females, equal proportions of both sexes reported doing circuit training, and squash was another sex-independent activity done in NCPE (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Top 20 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently by males and females in National Curriculum Physical Education (n and %)

Sport or physical activity	Males	Sport or physical activity	Females
Football	357 (71.8)	Badminton	197 (38.4)
Badminton	199 (40.0)	Netball	196 (38.2)
Basketball	166 (33.4)	Rounders	118 (23.0)
Athletics	127 (25.6)	Trampolining	115 (22.4)
Tennis	104 (20.9)	Dance	106 (20.7)
Rugby Union	90 (18.1)	Tennis	101 (19.7)
Cricket	79 (15.9)	Hockey	96 (18.7)
Swimming	78 (15.7)	Aerobics	90 (17.5)
Multi-gym/fitness	67 (13.5)	Athletics	85 (16.6)
Running/jogging	65 (13.1)	Multi-gym/fitness	73 (14.2)
Circuit Training	64 (12.9)	Circuit Training	64 (12.5)
Table Tennis	48 (9.7)	Swimming	57 (11.1)
Cross-country	44 (8.6)	Running/jogging	53 (10.3)
Gymnastics	39 (7.8)	Gymnastics	48 (9.4)
Volleyball	38 (7.6)	Basketball	44 (8.6)
Squash	36 (7.2)	Squash	38 (7.4)
Trampolining	34 (6.8)	Football	30 (5.8)
Weight Training	32 (6.4)	Table Tennis	21 (4.1)
Rounders	29 (5.8)	Diving	18 (3.5)
Rugby League	28 (5.4)	Cross-country	16 (3.1)
Total	497	Total	513

This having been said, team games especially, were prominent in the NCPE participatory profiles of 15-16-year-olds (Table 4.5), which indicates that four-fifths of males and just under one-half of females reported being frequently involved in what are usually referred to as 'invasion games'[2] such as football and rugby union

(males) and netball and hockey (females). One-quarter of both sexes reported participating frequently in 'striking games' such as cricket and rounders and just under one-half also claimed to participate in 'racket games' such as badminton and tennis. 'Athletics and gymnastic activities' were also reportedly done by over four-fifths of males and females, and similar proportions of both sexes reported participating in swimming and did OAA. Dance was an almost female-exclusive activity. In general terms, however, the NCPE participatory profiles of the youngsters in this study can be described as comprising a particular blend of sports and team games (which display a continued tendency to dominate such profiles) alongside a number of lifestyle activities that are increasingly characteristic of their participation in sport and physical activity during their leisure time (see Chapter Six).

Table 4.5 Frequent participation (n and %) by males and females in six different categories of activities in National Curriculum Physical Education

Category of Activity	Overall	Males	Females
Invasion games	646	398	248
	(64.0)	(80.1)	(48.3)
Striking games	269	133	136
	(26.6)	(26.8)	(26.5)
Racket	480	239	241
games	(47.5)	(48.1)	(47.0)
Swimming & diving	138	80	58
	(13.7)	(16.1)	(11.7)
Dance	109	3	106
	(10.8)	(0.6)	(20.7)
Outdoor & adventurous	44	26	18
activities	(4.4)	(5.2)	(3.5)
Athletics & gymnastic	476	225	251
activities	(47.7)	(45.3)	(48.9)
Total	1,010	497	513

Number of sports and physical activities participated in during National Curriculum Physical Education by school

The complexity of the participation picture in NCPE is brought into sharp relief however, when considering that the rates of participation, range and particular blend of activities that characterize the participatory profiles of 15-16-year-olds' involvement in NCPE, varied according to the school in which they were taught. In terms of the range of sports and physical activities in which they had reported being involved in NCPE over the past 12 months, Table 4.6 indicates that those who attended Schools A, C and G reported participating in a higher median number of sports and physical activities overall and claimed to be involved in twice as many activities compared to those who attended School D. Those who attended School G, one of the SSCs included in the study, reported participating in three more sports and physical activities on average compared to those who attended the other SSC (School F). The total number of sports and physical activities reported by males and females as part of NCPE in each of the schools included in the study are presented in Tables C1-C3 in Appendix C.

Table 4.6 Median number of sports and physical activities done in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

School	Median number of sports and physical activities	Inter-quartile range
A	11.00	6.50
B	6.00	4.00
C	10.00	4.00
D	5.00	3.00
E	8.00	3.00
F	7.00	3.00
G	10.00	3.00
Total	8.00	4.00

The number of sports and physical activities done occasionally in NCPE also varied according to the school attended. For example, whilst almost all young people who

attended five schools reported participating in at least one sport or physical activity occasionally as part of NCPE in the past 12 months, over one-in-ten males and females at School B, and one-in-twenty at School G, reported not participating in any sports or physical activities occasionally (Table C4 in Appendix C). In both Schools, higher proportions of males than females reported doing no sports or physical activities occasionally in the last 12 months (Tables C5-C6 in Appendix C).

The proportion of those who reported participating occasionally in three or more sports and physical activities also varied widely between schools. In three schools, nine-in-ten males and females reported participating occasionally in three or more sports and physical activities in the last 12 months, whilst just under six-in-ten of those who attended School B reported doing so (Table C4 in Appendix C) Among males, the highest proportions (nine-in-ten) who reported participating occasionally in three or more sports and physical activities in the last 12 months attended Schools A and E, and the lowest proportion attended School B, where just over one-half of males reported doing so (Table C5 in Appendix C). Similar patterns were also observed for females, with nine-in-ten of those attending Schools A, C and E claiming to have participated occasionally in three or more sports and physical activities in the last 12 months; the lowest proportion (six-in-ten) who reported doing so attended School B (Table C6 in Appendix C).

In terms of frequent participation, approximately one-quarter of males and females who attended Schools D, E and F reported not participating in any sports or physical activities in NCPE in the last 12 months, whilst less than one-in-ten of those who attended School G claimed to do so (Table C7 in Appendix C). In all of the schools,

higher proportions of females than males reported not participating in any sport or physical frequently in the past 12 months, with four times as many females at School G and twice as many females at Schools A, D and E reporting that they did not do so (Tables C8-C9 in Appendix C). For males, the highest proportion of those who reported not participating frequently in any sport or physical activity in NCPE in the last 12 months attended one of the SSCs in the sample (School F), whilst the lowest proportion who reported doing so attended the other SSC in the study (School G) (Table C8 in Appendix C). In addition, seven-in-ten males who attended Schools A and G reported participating frequently in three or more sports and physical activities, whilst the lowest proportion attended School D, where four-fifths of males claimed to do so (Table C8 in Appendix C). For females, over one-third of those who attended School D reported that they had not participated frequently in any sport or physical activity in NCPE in the last 12 months whilst the lowest proportion who reported doing do so attended School G (Table C9 in Appendix C). Approximately seven-in-ten of those who attended School G also reported participating frequently in three or more sports and physical activities and were almost twice as likely as those who attended Schools B, D and E to report doing so (Table C9 in Appendix C).

Sports and physical activities done during National Curriculum Physical Education by school

The rates of participation, range and particular blend of activities that characterized the participatory profiles of 15-16-year-olds' involvement in NCPE varied according to the school in which they were taught. In relation to the participation of males, for example, Table 4.7 indicates that the only three sports that appeared in the top 10 most widely-played sports in all of the schools were reported to be the most popular among males generally, namely, football, badminton and basketball. By contrast,

cricket, running/jogging and swimming did not appear in the top 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities that were reported by males in three of the schools, neither did cross-country and multi-gym/fitness in four schools, while sports such as volleyball, trampolining, rugby union and gymnastics, as well as more individualized activities such as squash, circuit training and table tennis did not feature in the 10 most widely-played activities in NCPE in five schools. Hockey, rounders and climbing did not feature in the top 10 most participated activities in six schools (Table 4.7).

It can also be seen from Table 4.8 that the only reported sport that featured in the 10 most widely-played sports by females in NCPE in each of the schools was netball, followed by athletics, trampolining, rounders and tennis, which were among the most widely participated sports in six of the seven schools. Badminton and swimming did not feature in the top ten participatory activities among young women in two schools, and the same was true for dance and aerobics in three schools. A range of other sports and physical activities also did not feature in the 10 most widely-played activities, these were: multi-gym/fitness and circuit training (four schools), running/jogging, gymnastics and hockey (five schools), as well as volleyball, table tennis, squash, football and climbing (six schools) (Table 4.8).

In this regard, the data presented in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 indicate that the activities in which 15-16-year-olds reported participating in NCPE varied to a large degree according to the school which they attended. It is also clear that while all of the schools offered pupils traditional, typically gendered, and often different team games for males (such as football, basketball, cricket and rugby union) and females (such as

netball and hockey), one striking difference between their participatory profiles in each of the schools appeared to lie in the kinds and range of lifestyle activities (for example, swimming, multi-gym/fitness, circuit training, aerobics and dance) as well as striking games (such as badminton, tennis and squash) provided as part of NCPE.

The number of activities in which at least one-quarter of males and females reported participating in each of the schools also varied according to the school in which they were taught. For example, Table 4.7 shows that at School G seven sports and physical activities were done frequently by at least one-quarter of males, those attending Schools A, B and C reported participating frequently in six activities, and five sports and physical activities were done frequently by at least one-quarter of males who attended School F. At School D four sports and physical activities were reported as being done frequently by one-quarter of males in NCPE, and just two activities were done by males attending School E (Table 4.7). In relation to females, at least one-quarter participated in eight sports and physical activities in NCPE at Schools C and G, five activities were pursued frequently at School A, and at Schools E and F four sports and physical activities were reportedly undertaken by at least one-quarter of females (Table 4.8). This compared with three sports and physical activities that were reported by this proportion of females at School D, while at School B there was only one activity in which one-quarter of young women claimed to participate frequently, namely, dance (Table 4.8). It was also noticeable that when comparing the range of sports and physical activities in which at least one-quarter of pupils at the two SSCs in the study reported participating frequently, a greater number of sports and physical activities were pursued by males (seven) and females (eight) who attended School G, compared with five and four activities, respectively, at School F (Tables 4.7 and 4.8).

Table 4.7 Top 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently by males (%) in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Ranking	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
1	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football
	71.8	80.5	59.2	63.6	76.3	75.6	63.6	85.6
2	Badminton	Badminton	Badminton	Badminton	Basketball	Circuit training	Basketball	Badminton
	40.0	39.0	47.9	41.6	30.5	36.6	41.6	51.1
3	Basketball	Tennis	Table Tennis	Basketball	Badminton	Rugby Union	Multi-gym	Rugby Union
	33.4	34.1	47.9	35.1	25.4	22.0	33.8	51.1
4	Athletics	Volleyball	Basketball	Athletics	Swimming	Athletics	Athletics	Tennis
	25.6	34.1	40.1	31.2	25.4	18.3	31.2	48.9
5	Tennis	Cricket	Athletics	Swimming	Trampolining	Badminton	Badminton	Athletics
	20.9	31.7	28.2	31.2	18.6	18.3	27.3	42.2
6	Rugby Union	Basketball	Cricket	Volleyball	Athletics	Swimming	Swimming	Basketball
	18.1	29.3	28.2	28.6	10.2	18.3	22.1	40.0
7	Cricket	Trampolining	Rounders	Multi-gym	Running/jogging	Table Tennis	Gymnastics	Cricket
	15.9	24.4	22.5	18.2	10.2	17.1	18.1	28.9
8	Swimming	Hockey	Rugby Union	Squash	Cricket	Gymnastics	Cross-country	Running/jogging
	15.7	22.0	22.5	18.2	8.5	15.9	15.6	20.0
9	Multi-gym	Athletics	Squash	Running/jogging	Rounders	Basketball	Climbing	Circuit Training
	13.5	17.1	21.1	16.9	8.5	14.6	14.3	16.7
10	Running/jogging	Running/jogging	Tennis	Tennis	Cross-country	Multi-gym	Tennis	Rounders
	13.1	14.6	21.1	15.6	5.1	13.4	14.3	14.4
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table 4.8 Top 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently by females (%) in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Ranking	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
1	Badminton	Badminton	Dance	Badminton	Netball	Netball	Netball	Netball
	38.4	50.0	41.7	42.9)	38.9	40.0	46.3	61.9
2	Netball	Netball	Badminton	Rounders	Trampolining	Badminton	Multi-gym	Rounders
	38.2	37.5	24.0	40.7	33.3	38.5	35.2	42.3
3	Rounders	Trampolining	Netball	Multi-gym	Aerobics	Aerobics	Swimming	Trampolining
	23.0	35.4	18.8	34.1	27.8	30.0	25.9	38.1
4	Trampolining	Dance	Tennis	Tennis	Badminton	Hockey	Trampolining	Tennis
	22.4	33.3	17.7	34.1	22.2	26.4	25.9	34.0
5	Dance	Rounders	Rounders	Netball	Athletics	Circuit Training	Hockey	Athletics
	20.7	27.1	17.7	33.0	11.1	18.7	16.7	27.8
6	Tennis	Athletics	Aerobics	Squash	Basketball	Gymnastics	Dance	Aerobics
	19.7	14.6	16.7	27.5	11.1	11.0	14.8	27.8
7	Hockey	Multi-gym	Table Tennis	Hockey	Circuit Training	Rounders	Tennis	Circuit Training
	18.7	14.6	15.6	26.4	8.3	11.0	13.0	26.8
8	Aerobics	Volleyball	Gymnastics	Swimming	Dance	Tennis	Rounders	Hockey
	17.5	14.6	14.6	25.3	8.3	10.0	13.0	24.7
9	Athletics	Tennis	Trampolining	Trampolining	Football	Swimming	Climbing	Running/jogging
	16.6	8.3	13.5	24.2	8.3	10.0	11.1	19.6
10	Multi-gym	Running/jogging	Athletics	Athletics	Swimming	Athletics	Tennis	Swimming
	14.2	8.3	12.5	23.1	8.3	7.7	11.1	14.3
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

These differences between the schools are examined further in Chapter Nine, however a further indication of the variation that existed between schools in the frequent participation of young people in six different activities in NCPE is evident from Tables 4.9 and 4.10. Indeed, it is apparent from Table 4.9 that whilst invasion games were the most widely and frequently pursued group of activities in NCPE, the reported participation in these activities varied from between seven-in-ten males in School B to over nine-in-ten young men who attended School G. Over four-fifths of males who were at Schools A and B reported participating frequently in striking games, more than three times the proportion of males who reported doing so at Schools D, E and F. Six-in-ten males at Schools B and G reported participating frequently in racket games, compared to just over one-quarter of males who attended School D (Table 4.9).

The highest proportions of males who reported frequent participation in swimming and diving were from School C, while very few reporting doing so at Schools A, B and G. Athletic and gymnastic activities were reported as being played by at least one-third of males in all schools except School D, with over one-half of young men who attended School G reporting that they had participated frequently in these activities. With the exception of School F, OAA were rarely pursued on a frequent basis and dance was an almost female-exclusive activity (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Frequent participation (n and %) by males in six different categories of activities in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Category of Activity	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
Invasion games	398	35	50	59	45	68	55	86
	(80.1)	(85.4)	(70.4)	(76.6)	(76.3)	(82.9)	(71.4)	(95.6)
Striking games	133	20	29	28	7	11	6	22
	(26.8)	(48.8)	(40.8)	(36.7)	(11.9)	(13.4)	(7.8)	(24.5)
Racket games	239	23	45	39	16	29	27	60
	(48.1)	(56.1)	(63.4)	(50.6)	(27.1)	(35.4)	(35.1)	(66.7)
Swimming & diving	80	6	4	25	15	16	17	2
	(16.1)	(14.6)	(5.6)	(32.5)	(25.4)	(19.5)	(22.1)	(2.2)
Dance	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
	(0.6)	(24.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(5.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Outdoor & adventurous activities	26	2	2	3	0	3	13	0
	(5.2)	(4.9)	(2.8)	(3.9)	(0.0)	(3.7)	(16.9)	(0.0)
Athletics & gymnastic activities	225	19	26	36	6	40	37	48
	(45.3)	(46.3)	(36.6)	(46.8)	(10.2)	(48.8)	(48.1)	(53.3)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

As Table 4.10 indicates, whilst not as popular as they were amongst males, invasion games were also reportedly played by large numbers of females in some schools. The largest proportion attended School G, while those who were from School B were far less likely to have participated in these activities compared to the other schools. Striking games were reported by over two-fifths of females in Schools C and G, and by one-third of those who attended School A, but very few young women from the other four schools did so (Table 4.10). The frequent participation of females in racket games also varied considerably between schools, ranging from one-in-ten at School F to over six-in-ten at School C. One-quarter of young women reported going swimming and diving as part of NCPE at Schools C and F, but less than one-in-ten did so at the other schools, and very few young women at all of the schools reported frequent participation in OAA (Table 4.10). Those young women who reported frequent participation in dance were far more likely to attend Schools A, B and G, and the highest proportions – six-in-ten – of those who were frequently involved in athletic and gymnastic activities attended Schools C and G (Table 4.10).

Sex- and school-related differences in young people's participation in six physical education activity areas

This section considers in more detail the sex- and school-related differences in 15-16-year-olds' reported participation in the six activity areas that comprise NCPE, namely, games (incorporating invasion games, striking games and racket games), athletic and gymnastic activities, outdoor and adventurous activities, swimming and dance.

Games: Invasion

The relationship between sex and the number of invasion games participated in was highly significant (χ^2 =33.5, $p < .0005$), with four times as many females reporting

that they participated in no invasion games in NCPE compared to males, who were in turn more likely to play 1-2 invasion games (Table C10 in Appendix C). Similar proportions of both sexes reported participation in 3 or more invasion games (Table C10 in Appendix C). Highly significant relationships between the type of school attended and the number of invasion games in which young people participated were also observed (χ^2 =349.2, $p < .0005$). Over two-thirds of young people who attended Schools A and G (the latter a SSC) reported participating in 3 or more invasion games as part of NCPE over the past year, one-third of pupils who attended School B reported participating in no invasion games at all in the same period, and almost all young people who attended School F (a SSC) claimed to do 1-2 invasion games as part of PE (Table C11 in Appendix C).

These school-related differences in participation in invasion games were also highly significant separately for males (χ^2 =165.9, $p < .0005$) and females (χ^2 =198.9, $p < .0005$). Males who attended Schools A and G, for example, were more likely to report participating in 3 or more invasion games than those attending the other schools, almost all young males at School F did 1-2 invasion games, and those males who attended School B were significantly more likely to report not doing any invasion games at all in the past year compared to those in the six schools (Table C12 in Appendix C). For young women, these differences were related to the fact that, in Schools A, C, E and G, over half of females reported participating in 3 or more invasion games, while a similar proportion of those who attended School B reported that they did not do any invasion games in NCPE (Table C13 in Appendix C). Reflecting the participatory tendencies of males at the same school, almost all of the young women who attended School F had played 1-2 invasion games.

Table 4.10 Frequent participation (n and %) by females in six different categories of activities in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Category of Activity	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
Invasion games	248 (48.3)	22 (45.8)	25 (26.0)	48 (52.7)	13 (36.1)	44 (48.4)	26 (48.1)	70 (72.2)
Striking games	136 (26.5)	18 (37.5)	16 (16.7)	39 (42.6)	2 (7.7)	10 (11.0)	7 (13.0)	44 (45.4)
Racket games	241 (47.0)	26 (54.2)	45 (46.9)	59 (64.8)	8 (22.2)	39 (42.9)	6 (11.1)	58 (59.8)
Swimming & diving	58 (11.7)	3 (6.3)	3 (3.1)	23 (25.3)	3 (8.3)	9 (9.9)	15 (27.8)	2 (2.1)
Dance	106 (20.7)	16 (33.3)	40 (41.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (8.3)	1 (1.1)	8 (14.8)	38 (39.2)
Outdoor & adventurous activities	18 (3.5)	5 (10.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (3.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (4.4)	6 (11.1)	0 (0.0)
Athletics & gymnastic activities	251 (48.9)	23 (47.9)	40 (41.7)	53 (58.2)	17 (47.2)	34 (37.4)	25 (46.3)	59 (60.8)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Games: Striking

Participation in striking games was also significantly related to sex (χ^2 =8.3, p < .0005), with more females reporting to have participated in 1-2 striking games during the previous 12 months. By contrast, males were twice as likely as females to have reported participating in 3 or more of these kinds of activities (Table C10 in Appendix C). Significant relationships were also found between young people's involvement in striking games and the school attended (χ^2 =237.5, p < .0005), as well as between the type of school and sex (males, χ^2 =126.5, p < .0005; females, χ^2 =160.0, p < .0005). For example, the reported participation in 1-2 striking games was more prevalent overall, for both males and females at Schools C and E, while the same was true for School A in relation to young people's involvement in 3 or more striking games (Tables C11-C13 in Appendix C). In addition, those young people who attended Schools B, D and F were more likely (overall) to have reported participating in no striking games as part of NCPE over the past 12 months. Similar significant differences were also observed among both males and females (Tables C11-C13 in Appendix C).

Games: Racket

The relationship between sex and participation in racket games was non-significant. The school that each of the young people in the study attended, however, was significantly related to participation in racket games (χ^2 =233.5, p < .0005), with young people attending Schools A, B and C more likely to have reported doing 3-4 racket games compared to Schools D, E and F where between 16% and 18% of young people reported playing no racket games in the past year. As with School G, the majority (over-three quarters) of young people in the latter group of schools had

reported playing 1-2 racket games (Table C11 in Appendix C). Significant differences were also found due to the school attended and sex (males, χ^2 =132.2, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =224.6, $p < .0005$). Males and females at Schools A, B and C, for example, were more likely to report playing 3-4 racket games, whilst females who attended Schools A, B and E and males at Schools C and F were more likely to report doing 1-2 racket games, with similar proportions of both sexes at the remaining two schools (School D and G) doing so. Males who attended School E and females at Schools B, D and F were significantly more likely to report playing no racket games in PE over the past year (Tables C12-C13 in Appendix C).

Athletic and gymnastic activities

The relationship between involvement in athletic and gymnastic activities and sex was highly significant (χ^2 =46.8, $p < .0005$), with males three times more likely to have reported participating in none of these activities in the past year compared to females, who were more likely to have done 1-3 and 7-10 athletic and gymnastic activities respectively, in the past year. Both sexes were equally likely to have reported doing 4-6 of these kinds of activities (Table C10 in Appendix C).

Significant differences were also observed between involvement in athletic and gymnastic activities and school attended (χ^2 =115.4, $p < .0005$). One-third of young people who attended Schools B and D, for example, were more likely to have reported doing no athletic and gymnastic activities in the past year, and those attending Schools A and C were significantly more likely to have reported doing 7-10 of these kinds of activities (Table C12 in Appendix C). With the exception of School G, the largest proportions of youngsters attending each of the schools had reported doing 1-3

athletic and gymnastic activities in the past 12 months (Tables C12-C13 in Appendix C).

These school-related differences in participation in athletic and gymnastic activities remained highly significant when also analyzed by sex (males, χ^2 =83.0, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =68.3, $p < .0005$). Males, who attended Schools B and D, for example, were more likely to have reported doing none of these activities as part of NCPE. Those from Schools A, E and G were more likely to have reported doing 4-6 athletic and gymnastic activities, while young men from Schools A and C were more likely to have participated in 7-10 activities (Table C12 in Appendix C). Amongst young women, those who attended School B were more likely to have reported participating in none of these kinds of activities in the past year, those from Schools C and F were more likely to have reported participating in 4-6 athletic and gymnastic activities, while females attending Schools D and E and Schools A, C and G were more likely to have reported participating in 4-6 and 7-10 activities respectively (Table C13 in Appendix C).

Outdoor and adventurous activities

The differences between participation in OAA and sex were non-significant. Significant differences in participation in OAA were found, however, between the schools attended (χ^2 =13.4, $p < .0005$) and between the schools attended and sex (males, χ^2 =55.4, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =73.6, $p < .0005$). The individual school-related differences related primarily to School F, where one half of all young people had reported participating in one or more OAA in the past year (less than 20% of pupils in Schools A, B, C and G had done one or more OAA), and Schools D and E

where very few, if any, youngsters had reported not participating in any of these activities (Table C11 in Appendix C). Significantly more males and females at School F had reported participating in one or more OAA in the past year compared to those youngsters who had attended the other schools (except School D), where similar proportions of both sexes had reported participating in these kinds of activities (Tables C11-C12 in Appendix C).

Swimming and diving

Similar to the picture outlined in relation to participation in OAA, the relationships between involvement in swimming and diving and sex were non-significant, whereas those between the schools attended (χ^2 =259.8, $p < .0005$) and those between schools attended and sex (males, χ^2 =90.9, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =183.1, $p < .0005$) were highly significant. In terms of the schools, those young people who attended Schools C and E were more likely than those in the other schools to have reported doing so overall (Table C11 in Appendix C). Males who attended Schools B, D and E were more likely to have reported going swimming and diving, while in Schools A, C and F young women were more likely to have reported doing so. At School G, males were just as likely as females to report participating in swimming and diving in the past year (Tables C12-C13 in Appendix C).

Dance

The relationship between participation in dance and sex was highly significant (χ^2 =215.5, $p < .0005$), with females far more likely to have danced compared to males (Table C10 in Appendix C). Significant differences according to the school attended (χ^2 =156.8, $p < .0005$) and according to the school attended and females only (χ^2

=179.0, $p < .0005$) were also observed. Indeed, of those young women who danced, a significant majority attended Schools A, B, E and G (Table C13 in Appendix C).

'Activity choice' and the changing nature of secondary school national curriculum physical education

In the previous chapter it was noted that the focus groups conducted with the young people were intended to examine their views and experiences of leisure as well as the meanings various aspects of their leisure lives (such as sport and physical activity) had for them. Although it was not a primary objective of the focus groups to examine young people's involvement in sport and physical activity through NCPE, their views and experiences of NCPE – in particular, the degree of activity choice available to youngsters in PE in the later secondary school years – were often counter-posed with their views upon leisure. Consequently, data on young people's perceptions of NCPE emerged from the focus groups. In this regard, it is worth concluding this chapter by briefly outlining the young people's perceptions of the degree of 'activity choice' in NCPE as a prelude to examining the significance of this for their involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity in Chapter Six. Before doing so however, it should be noted that for reasons of confidentiality, in this and subsequent chapters different letters are used to denote different young people speaking within each of the reported discussions in the focus groups.

The 15-16-year-olds (particularly males) in this study commented upon the benefit, as they saw it, of the provision of a greater range of sports and physical activities (from which they could choose) in the later secondary school years – particularly in curriculum PE. That such value was placed upon the ability to choose, whenever

possible, from a range of more attractive sports and activities in PE was emphasized by one group of males who attended School E:

> A: I originally came from another school where it (PE) was just about running laps or football and that was it. But here there's loads of things to do like canoeing and climbing.
> B: [Interrupts] There's a lot more choice now, in Year 11, so you enjoy it more.
> C: There's a lot of choice and sports to choose from. It's better now.
> D: There's things like martial arts and stuff that you can do, that's different.
> E: But there is too much football though; you should do other things just as much as well.
> B: [Interrupts] Like rugby (union).
> C: We have 16 lessons of football and just four lessons of rugby ... But there is a good choice.
> F: I think we get more choice as we get older because when you're younger they (teachers) tell you what to do and everyone has to do it, but when you get to (Years) 10 and 11 ... you can choose what sports you want to do, what sports you enjoy.

Another group of males at School C also commented positively upon the choice of activities available in curricular PE at their school:

> A: The choice we get here in PE is good 'cos we get to do loads of different sports in PE, not just the team ones but the individual ones as well, like gym.
> B: Yeah, it's pretty good now we're in Year 11 – we enjoy it more now 'cos we get the choice of what we're doing, whereas before we had to do what we were told to do.
> C: [Interrupts] The thing that lets us down here though is that there is no real rugby going on, a lot of us wouldn't mind doing that.
> D: We get more freedom to do what we want to do now though instead of the teachers telling us what we've got to do. Now if we want to do football we can do football.
> E: [Interrupts] And if one week we want to do gym then we can do that instead.

Similar views were also expressed in a focus group at the same school (School C) with a group of young women who juxtaposed the lack of choice they experienced in PE in the early secondary school years with the greater degree of activity choice and enjoyment they derived from PE at the time that the focus group was conducted:

A: I remember when we used to do cross-country or the bleep-test in Year 7 ... if everyone knew that they were going to have to do that a lot of people would find ways of not doing it ... because they were worried about what people would think if you came last – as if you were being lazy – and the criticism you could get for it.
B: With things like tennis and badminton that we do now people aren't as bothered but when it comes down to personal fitness – like in cross-country – a lot of people are worried about what people think of them.
C: It would be nice to get a choice in Year 7 like what we do in Year 11.
D: [Interrupts] Like aerobics and gym that we do now.
E: Yeah, aerobics; lots of us enjoy that.
D: It makes it more enjoyable then, when you can decide what to do.
F: Because they order you around don't they and they don't give you that much choice in the early years?
G: You want it (PE) so you can be able to enjoy yourself; you what it to be so like you have decided.

Despite the generally positive way in which these young women described their experiences of PE in the later secondary school years, the provision of 'activity choice' appeared to be much more limited for young women than it was for males, regardless of the school that they attended. One group of young women (School E) explained that:

A: You do a lot of netball and you do a lot of hockey but you do hardly anything else. We don't get as much choice in PE at Year 11 as the boys.
B: Yeah, we get a bit of choice. We do things like netball, hockey, rounders and a little bit of tennis and badminton.
C: [Interrupts] And we have done a bit of gym and swimming this year but they've stopped doing that now haven't they?
D: Yeah, I enjoyed that and I wished we could do gymnastics as well 'cos I'd like to do that as well.
E: I'd do aerobics as well if we could; a lot of the girls would like to do aerobics because we did it once for one week and a lot of them did it and enjoyed it.
C: The problem in PE is that sometimes we repeat exactly the same things each week. I mean basketball is the only other thing that we have done differently this term. We should do other things as well.

Young people's (and especially girls') views regarding what they see as the lack of variety (especially in relation to boys) available to pupils in PE are further illustrated

by one group of young women who, at the time of the focus group, attended School G:

> A: They (teachers) don't offer us things that the boys usually do – like football – that some girls are interested in. They just think that all we're into are 'girly' sports and that we want to do the same thing all the time.
> B: [Interrupts] That's like rugby as well.
> C: They should do more dancing though, not proper dance, but things like dancing and aerobics to music we like.
> D: They don't always listen to you or ask you your opinion ... Say if seven of you wanted to do dance or something ... they wouldn't give you the choice to go and do it, they'll make you go and join in with everyone else. It's not fair sometimes.
> E: It was like last week, they gave us the choice of basketball and rounders and there was twenty-odd of us that wanted to do dance and they said 'No, sorry'.

Comments of this kind were not confined to young women who attended schools located in less deprived, more socially and economically advantaged areas however. As the following extract from a focus group held with one group of females at School A illustrates, the lack of activity choice available to females compared to males was equally characteristic of schools that were attended by youngsters from more socially and economically deprived backgrounds:

> A: Although we can do some sports that we like, we should have even more of a *choice* of what we want to do (original emphasis).
> B: Yeah, it can be dead boring just doing dance, trampolining and badminton.
> C: [Interrupts] We should do fitness and gym, stuff like that, as well.
> D: And swimming and football.
> B: We've done fitness sometimes but not all the time.
> E: It's mainly the boys isn't it who get to do it? Only a few of the girls get to do it.
> A: [Interrupts] The lads get to do loads of *different* kinds of things (original emphasis) don't they?
> B: Yeah, they do tennis and things like that don't they? We don't get as much to do.
> C: Yeah, but we've done dance; that was good.
> D: Lots of us enjoy dance don't we?
> E: We dance to music that we like, pop music and stuff like that what is out now. We do get to choose that.

Indeed, while the degree of activity choice available to pupils in PE varied according to gender, the provision of a range of sports and physical activities to choose from also varied – independently of gender – between the different schools included in the study. Those schools located in largely-working/lower-working class neighbourhoods offered less choice of activities for their 15 and 16 year olds. That activity choice was context-dependent in this way was brought out in a focus group conducted at School F in which one group of males expressed their dissatisfaction with the rather limited degree of activity choice available to them thus:

> A: They (teachers) don't ask us what we want to do. They tell us what we've got to do and we choose one of them.
> B: You do what you are told to do; most people don't get that much choice of what to do.
> C: We mainly do footy don't we?
> D: [Interrupts] It's usually five-a-side.
> E: [Interrupts] We should do fitness courses like they do in the army.
> F: Yeah, gym and stuff like that.
> G: I'd make a wider range of stuff available for us to do.
> C: Like paintballing.
> B: [Interrupts] They're always sticking to the *same* things, basketball and badminton, things like that (original emphasis).
> A: Yeah, we only get a few choices of sports when we're here and it's annoying. You want to do other things too, not just footy.

Similar concerns about the lack of 'choice' available as part of PE were also expressed by a group of young women who attended the same school:

> A: We don't get much of a choice at Year 11, so all that we tend to do is things like badminton and aerobics.
> B: We should get more choice; more activities to choose from.
> C: We never get to do basketball or netball any more do we?
> D: [Interrupts] No, we get two choices every term but it's always out of the same thing: aerobics, badminton or dance.
> E: More girls would be doing PE and sport if they had the choice.
> C: We have done football a couple of times but most of the time it's with the lads and the thing is when you go with the lads, they just keep the ball to themselves.
> F: They (teachers) think that girls aren't interested in sport when they're past a certain age and they think that all the lads are interested in is football.

G: [Interrupts] It's like (name), she plays for Everton ladies and she can only play against the lads in PE.
H: I think it's just unfair; I think its sexist this school 'cos we're never allowed to play football on our own.

One group of males who attended School A were equally frustrated at what, in their eyes at least, was the failure by teachers to provide 'any real choice':

A: We just do football really, that's all people want to do.
B: When you get the report (list of activities from which to choose to do in PE) at the end of term there's a long list of activities but we only ever get to do about four of them a year; there's twelve activities on there (the 'report') but we don't get any real choice.
C: I think we should be given the option of what we want to do, so if people want to do football then they can go and do that.
D: [Interrupts] We *should* have a free choice of what to do each lesson (original emphasis).
E: Sometimes we get an option, but it's usually just football, basketball or table tennis and sometimes you want to do something different.

In short, it appeared that while the young people in this study strongly supported the provision of a greater choice of activities as part of curriculum PE during the later secondary school years, in practice the opportunity for choice varied considerably between males and females and from one school to another. It was also the case that the degree of choice available at each school was often constrained by teachers and peers. Indeed, the fact that 'activity choice' in PE was often constrained led some youngsters to express the view that they enjoyed and preferred to participate in sport and physical activity in their leisure time, not least because they were able to choose what activities they pursued, the level of intensity, seriousness and competitiveness involved in those activities, and where, when and with whom they did them:

A: I enjoy the one's (activities) I do outside of PE *a lot more* (original emphasis).
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, I do because that's your choice isn't it? You choose what to do.
C: You choose to do it so you know you are going to enjoy it; you don't always get that in games.

D: Outside of school you can do whatever you want can't you because it's your choice? It's more of a laugh then. At school there's a range (of activities on offer) but it's limited.
A: Whereas in school if you can't do it (an activity) and don't like it you still have to do it anyway. (males, School D)

In similar fashion, a group of young women from School C also commented positively on the greater degree of choice available to them in their leisure time in the following way:

A: You're away from the teacher out of school so you can do what you want.
B: You can do the sports you want to do and who you want to go with outside (of school).
C: [Interrupts] And you don't have to worry about the teachers telling you what you can and can't do; it's more relaxed with your friends ... so you don't worry so much.
D: If the teacher's there then sometimes you feel that you've got to do *really* well unless they'll make you do it again ... It's better after school because you go with your friends don't you, and do the things you want, even if you're not dead good at them (original emphasis).

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to identify the main features of 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity in NCPE. It has been suggested that while all young people had participated in some sport and physical activity as part of NCPE in the previous 12 months, and approximately four-fifths did so frequently, the level of their participation and the kinds of activities in which they were involved was circumscribed, in a variety of ways, by sex and the type of school attended in particular. On the basis of the focus group data, it was also noted that many of the young people in this study strongly supported the provision of a greater choice of activities as part of curriculum PE during the later secondary school years. However, in practice this provision varied considerably between males and females and from one school to another, with females and those youngsters who attended schools

located in largely-working/lower-working class areas being more likely to comment upon what they saw as a lack of any real activity choice in PE.

In building upon the data presented in this chapter, Chapter Five outlines the participation of young people in extra-curricular PE.

Notes

[1] Whilst the theoretical rationale for their use is negligible, these thresholds were only chosen to permit comparisons with existing Sport England surveys that also use definitions of 'occasional' and 'frequent' participation (see, for example, Sport England, 2003a). It should also be noted that while a small proportion of youngsters did not participate in any sport or physical activities on an occasional basis in PE, it was not because these pupils had not participated altogether; rather, it was because they had participated frequently in each of the activities in which they had been involved.

[2] Those sports and physical activities that comprise NCPE are typically grouped into six main categories: games, swimming, athletics and gymnastics, dance and outdoor and adventurous activities (DfEE/QCA, 1999). These groups of activities are then frequently divided into sub-categories. The activity area of games, for example, is often divided into team or invasion games (such as football and hockey), striking games (for example, cricket and rounders) and racket games (including badminton and tennis).

Chapter Five

Young People's Participation in Extra Curricular Physical Education

Introduction

The previous chapter provided an outline of young people's participation in sport and physical activity within NCPE lessons. The object of this chapter is to identify the main features of young people's participation in sport and physical activity in extra-curricular physical education[1] in general and according to: (i) sex; (ii) age; and (iii) the school attended in particular.[2]

Levels of participation in extra-curricular physical education

As Table 5.1 (below) indicates, 46% of 15-16-year-olds in the current study reported participating in at least once in extra-curricular PE during the past 12 months, with more males (55%) than females (37%) doing so. For both males and females, more 16-year-olds (58% males; 40% females) than those aged 15 (53% males; 36% females) reported participating in extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Extra-curricular participation (n and %) in the past 12 months by sex and age

Participated in past 12 months?	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Yes	272	151	121	192	114	78
	(54.7)	(52.6)	(57.6)	(37.4)	(36.1)	(39.6)
No	225	136	89	321	202	119
	(45.3)	(47.4)	(42.4)	(62.6)	(63.9)	(60.4)
Total	497	287	210	513	316	197

Of those who had reported participating in the past 12 months, one-quarter of males and three-in-ten females reported doing so once per week; two-fifths of both sexes reported participating twice per week; one-third of males and one-quarter of females did so 3-4 times per week; and a further 3% of both sexes reported taking part 5-6 times per week (Table 5.2). The age-related differences in weekly participation are indicated in Table 5.2, which suggests that while very few males and females of both ages reported taking part 5-6 times per week, approximately one-quarter of 15- and 16-year-old males and 16-year-old females claimed to do so at least once per week (nearly one-third of 15-year-old females participated this frequently). Amongst 15-year-olds, more females (44%) than males (38%) reported participating twice per week, while the opposite was true for those who reported doing so 3-4 times per week (33% males; 22% females). By comparison, approximately two-fifths of 16-year-old males claimed to participate twice per week and a further one-quarter did so 3-4 times per week; similar reported rates of weekly involvement in extra-curricular PE were also characteristic of females aged 15 and 16-years-old (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by 15- and 16-year-old males and females

Involvement per week	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-years-old	Females 16-years-old
Once	71	39	32	56	36	20
	(26.1)	(25.8)	(26.4)	(29.2)	(31.6)	(25.6)
Twice	111	57	54	84	50	34
	(40.8)	(37.7)	(44.6)	(43.8)	(43.9)	(43.6)
3-4 times	82	50	32	46	25	21
	(30.1)	(33.1)	(26.4)	(24.0)	(21.9)	(26.9)
5-6 times	9	5	4	5	3	2
	(3.3)	(3.3)	(3.3)	(2.6)	(2.6)	(2.6)
Total	272	151	121	192	114	78

In terms of the time spent participating in extra-curricular PE (Table 5.3), 3% of males and females reported participating for less than 1 hour; over six-in-ten of both

sexes reported spending 1-5 hours doing so; approximately one-third of males and one-quarter of females claimed to be involved for 6-10 hours, and the remaining 5% of males and 7% of females reported spending 11-15 hours participating on a weekly basis.

Table 5.3 Average time spent participating (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education each week by sex and age

Time (hrs)	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Less than 1	9	8	1	5	4	1
	(3.3)	(5.3)	(0.8)	(2.6)	(3.5)	(1.3)
1-5	174	90	84	128	75	53
	(64.0)	(59.6)	(69.4)	(66.7)	(65.8)	(67.9)
6-10	76	45	31	45	25	20
	(27.9)	(29.8)	(25.6)	(23.4)	(21.9)	(25.6)
11-15	13	8	5	14	10	4
	(4.8)	(5.3)	(4.1)	(7.3)	(8.8)	(5.1)
Total	272	151	121	192	114	78

Number of sports and physical activities participated in during extra-curricular physical education

The total number of sports and physical activities done by 15-16-year-olds in extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months are presented in Table 5.4; the mean number in which both sexes reported participating in was 1.44. Of the 46% of 15-16-year-olds who had reported participating in extra-curricular PE during the previous 12 months, it can be seen from Table 5.5 that more females than males reported playing 1 or 2 sports occasionally, equal proportions reported doing 3 or 4 sports, and more males than females reported playing 5 or more sports occasionally (Table 5.5). In terms of frequent participation, slightly more males than females reported playing 1 or 2 sports frequently, twice as many males than females claimed to do 3 or 4 sports, and more males than females reported playing 5 or more sports frequently (Table 5.6).

Table 5.4 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by males and females in extra-curricular physical education in the past 12 months

Number of sports and physical activities	Overall Total	Males Total	Females Total
0	549	227	322
	(54.4)	(45.7)	(0.0)
1	140	81	59
	(13.9)	(16.3)	(11.5)
2	95	52	43
	(9.4)	(10.5)	(8.4)
3	68	34	34
	(6.7)	(6.8)	(6.6)
4	66	45	21
	(6.5)	(9.1)	(4.1)
5	30	18	12
	(3.0)	(3.6)	(2.3)
6	15	10	5
	(1.5)	(2.0)	(1.0)
7	13	8	5
	(1.3)	(1.6)	(1.0)
8	12	5	7
	(1.28)	(1.0)	(1.4)
9	8	7	1
	(0.8)	(1.4)	(0.2)
10	6	5	1
	(0.6)	(1.0)	(0.2)
11	1	1	0
	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.0)
12	3	1	2
	(0.3)	(0.2)	(0.4)
13	3	2	1
	(0.3)	(0.4)	(0.2)
15	1	1	0
	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.0)
Total	1,010	497	513

Table 5.5 Number of sports and physical activities done occasionally (n and %) by males and females who participated in extra-curricular physical education in the past 12 months

Number of sports and physical activities	Overall Occasionally	Males Occasionally	Females Occasionally
0	746	348	398
	(73.9)	(70.0)	(77.6)
1	115	61	54
	(11.4)	(12.3)	(10.5)
2	54	29	25
	(5.3)	(5.8)	(4.9)
3	38	22	16
	(3.8)	(4.4)	(3.1)
4	22	14	8
	(2.2)	(2.8)	(1.6)
5 or more	35	23	12
	(3.5)	(4.6)	(2.3)
Total	1,010	497	513

Table 5.6 Number of sports and physical activities done frequently (n and %) by males and females who participated in extra-curricular physical education in the past 12 months

Number of sports and physical activities	Overall Frequently	Males Frequently	Females Frequently
0	628	264	364
	(62.2)	(53.1)	(71.0)
1	174	108	66
	(17.2)	(21.7)	(12.9)
2	99	55	44
	(9.8)	(11.1)	(8.6)
3	58	36	22
	(5.7)	(7.2)	(4.3)
4	24	15	9
	(2.4)	(3.0)	(1.8)
5 or more	27	19	8
	(2.7)	(3.8)	(1.6)
Total	1,010	497	513

Sports and physical activities done during extra-curricular physical education

The findings of this study suggest that many of the activities in which 15-16-year-olds were frequently involved as part of extra-curricular PE tended to take the form of competitive sport – and team games in particular – and were typically gendered and stereotypical in orientation. It was also noticeable that although team-based sport tended to dominate, more recreational activities (such as badminton, multi-gym/fitness and weight training) also featured in the extra-curricular participatory profiles of males and females. The 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities that were reported as being done frequently by males and females are presented in Table 5.7.

Among males, football was by far the most widely-played sport undertaken in extra-curricular PE and was reportedly played by three and a half times as many youngsters who played the next most widely-played sport, basketball (14%). Just over one-in-ten males reported that they played badminton and rugby and reported doing multi-gym/fitness. These patterns were similar among 15- and 16-year-old males, with the

main exceptions being that basketball and tennis were reported by twice as many 15-year-olds than those aged 16, while the opposite was true for rugby union (Table 5.8). It was also noticeable that swimming featured in the top 10 most widely done sports and physical activities in extra-curricular PE for 15-year-olds but not for those in the older age group, whilst climbing was reported by a minority of 16-year-olds but was not pursued by males aged 15 (Table 5.8).

As Table 5.9 indicates, for females, netball was the most widely-played sport that they reported as doing frequently in extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months, followed by hockey and rounders that were played by similar proportions of young women (15%). One-in-ten females also reported participating in more individual activities such as badminton, swimming and dance. Although the most widely-played sports and physical activities tended to be similar for females aged 15 and 16 (Table 5.9), dance and badminton were reported by twice as many 15-year-old females than those aged 16. Moreover, multi-gym/fitness and tennis featured in the top 10 most widely done sports and physical activities in extra-curricular PE for 15-year-olds but not for those in the older age group, and athletics and running/jogging were reported by more 16-year-olds but not by the younger females (Table 5.9).

Table 5.7 Top 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently (n and %) by males and females in extra-curricular physical education

Sport or physical activity	Males	Sport or physical activity	Females
Football	140 (51.9)	Netball	46 (24.0)
Basketball	39 (14.3)	Hockey	29 (15.2)
Badminton	37 (13.6)	Rounders	28 (14.7)
Rugby Union	35 (12.8)	Badminton	22 (11.5)
Multi-gym/fitness	32 (11.8)	Swimming	21 (11.0)
Swimming	24 (8.8)	Dance	20 (10.5)
Cricket	24 (8.8)	Trampolining	16 (8.4)
Tennis	23 (8.4)	Athletics	16 (8.4)
Athletics	19 (6.6)	Multi-gym/fitness	15 (7.9)
Weight Training	17 (6.2)	Tennis	15 (7.9)
Total	272	Total	192

Table 5.8 Top 10 sport and physical activities participated in frequently (n and %) by males in extra-curricular physical education by age

Sport or physical activity	Total	Sport or physical activity	15-year-olds	Sport or physical activity	16-year-olds
Football	140 (51.9)	Football	76 (50.3)	Football	64 (52.5)
Basketball	39 (14.3)	Basketball	27 (17.9)	Rugby Union	21 (17.2)
Badminton	37 (13.6)	Multi-gym/fitness	20 (13.2)	Badminton	18 (14.8)
Rugby Union	35 (12.8)	Badminton	19 (12.6)	Cricket	13 (10.7)
Multi-gym/fitness	32 (11.8)	Swimming	19 (12.6)	Multi-gym/fitness	12 (9.8)
Swimming	24 (8.8)	Tennis	16 (10.6)	Basketball	12 (9.8)
Cricket	24 (8.8)	Rugby Union	14 (9.3)	Athletics	8 (6.6)
Tennis	23 (8.4)	Cricket	11 (7.3)	Tennis	7 (5.7)
Athletics	19 (6.6)	Athletics	11 (7.3)	Weight Training	7 (5.7)
Weight Training	17 (6.2)	Weight Training	10 (6.6)	Climbing	6 (4.9)
Total	272	Total	151	Total	121

Table 5.9 Top 10 sports and physical activities participated in frequently (n and %) by females in extra-curricular physical education by age

Sport or physical activity	Total	Sport or physical activity	15-year-olds	Sport or physical activity	16-year-olds
Netball	46 (24.0)	Netball	24 (21.0)	Netball	22 (28.6)
Hockey	29 (15.2)	Badminton	17 (14.9)	Hockey	15 (19.5)
Rounders	28 (14.7)	Dance	15 (13.2)	Rounders	15 (19.5)
Badminton	22 (11.5)	Hockey	14 (12.3)	Swimming	10 (13.0)
Swimming	21 (11.0)	Rounders	13 (11.4)	Athletics	10 (13.0)
Dance	20 (10.5)	Swimming	11 (9.6)	Running/jogging	7 (9.1)
Trampolining	16 (8.4)	Multi-gym/fitness	11 (9.6)	Trampolining	7 (9.1)
Athletics	16 (8.4)	Tennis	10 (8.8)	Dance	5 (6.5)
Multi-gym/fitness	15 (7.9)	Trampolining	9 (7.9)	Football	5 (6.5)
Tennis	15 (7.9)	Football	8 (7.0)	Badminton	5 (6.5)
Total	192	Total	114	Total	78

Levels of participation in extra-curricular physical education by school

Table 5.10 indicates the proportion of 15-16-year-olds who had reported participating weekly in extra-curricular PE at each school during the past 12 months, relative to the total number of participants who attended each school. From Table 5.10 it is apparent that the proportions of young people who had reported participating at least once varied according to the school that they attended. The highest proportion of pupils who had reported participating at least once attended School F (a SSC), whilst the lowest proportions were from School B (Table 5.10). With the exception of School C, higher proportions of males than females reported participating at least once in extra-curricular PE during the past 12 months in each of the schools, with approximately twice as many males than females reporting that they did so at Schools A, B and D (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10 Weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by males and females in the past 12 months by school

School	Number of pupils in sample (male/female)	Overall Total	Total Males	Total Females
A	89	40	25	15
	(41/48)	(44.9)	(61.0)	(31.3)
B	167	63	39	24
	(71/48)	(37.7)	(54.9)	(25.0)
C	168	75	33	42
	(77/96)	(44.6)	(42.9)	(46.2)
D	95	37	28	9
	(59/36)	(38.9)	(47.5)	(25.0)
E	173	83	48	35
	(82/91)	(48.0)	(62.3)	(38.5)
F	131	74	48	26
	(77/54)	(56.5)	(58.5)	(48.1)
G	187	92	51	41
	(90/97)	(49.2)	(56.7)	(42.3)
Total	1,010	464	272	192

Table 5.11 indicates the proportion of 15- and 16-year-old males and females who had reported participating at least once per week in extra-curricular PE at each school during the past 12 months, relative to the total number of participants who attended each school. At three schools (Schools B, D and G) higher proportions of 15-year-old males than those in the older age group reported participating, whilst the same was true for females in four schools (Schools B, D, E and G). The highest proportion – approximately six-in-ten – of 15-year-old males attended one of the SSC included in the sample (School F), and the lowest (38%) attended School C. Amongst 16-year-olds, the highest proportions who reported participating in extra-curricular PE at least once per week in the past 12 months were at School A, and were twice as likely to have participated compared to those from School D where the lowest proportion of those aged 16 participated (Table 5.11). For females, the highest proportion of 15-year-olds who reported participating attended School G (59%), and the lowest attended B where approximately one-quarter of 15-year-old females reported doing extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months (Table 5.11). Of those aged 16, the highest

proportion of females attended School F (57%) and the lowest attended School D (18%).

Table 5.11 Weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by 15- and 16-year-old males and females in the past 12 months by school

School	Number of males in sample (15/16-yrs)	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Number of females in sample (15/16-yrs)	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
A	41	17	8	48	8	7
	(29/12)	(58.6)	(66.7)	(34/14)	(23.5)	(50.0)
B	71	29	10	96	18	6
	(49/22)	(59.2)	(45.5)	(70/26)	(25.7)	(23.1)
C	77	18	15	91	28	14
	(47/30)	(38.3)	(50.0)	(63/28)	(44.4)	(50.0)
D	59	23	5	36	6	3
	(44/15)	(52.3)	(33.3)	(19/17)	(31.6)	(17.6)
E	82	10	38	91	12	23
	(20/62)	(50.0)	(61.3)	(29/62)	(41.4)	(37.1)
F	77	30	18	54	18	8
	(49/28)	(61.2)	(64.3)	(40/14)	(45.0)	(57.1)
G	90	24	27	97	24	17
	(49/41)	(49.0)	(44.3)	(61/36)	(58.5)	(47.2)
Total	497	151	121	513	114	78

The frequency of weekly participation in extra-curricular PE for males and females by school is presented in Table 5.12. Overall, it is clear that whilst very few males and females at each school reported participating 5-6 times per week, one-quarter of males and three-in-ten females reported participating once per week, two-fifths of both sexes claimed to do so twice per week, and more males (30%) than females (24%) reported participating 3-4 times per week (Table 5.12). Among males, the highest proportion of males who reported participating once per week attended School E and were twice as likely as those from School F to do so. Conversely, those from School F were twice as likely as those who were at School A to report participating twice per week, and one-third of males who attended School D reported participating 3-4 times per week compared to just over two-in-ten males from School E (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Frequency of weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by sex and by school

School	Total Males	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Total Females	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week
A	25	7	7	11	0	15	4	3	7	1
	(61.0)	(28.0)	(28.0)	(44.0)	(0.0)	(31.3)	(26.7)	(20.0)	(46.7)	(6.7)
B	39	10	18	11	0	24	3	11	8	2
	(54.9)	(25.6)	(46.2)	(28.2)	(0.0)	(25.0)	(12.5)	(45.8)	(33.3)	(8.3)
C	33	12	10	8	3	42	14	23	5	0
	(42.9)	(36.3)	(30.3)	(25.2)	(9.1)	(46.2)	(33.3)	(54.8)	(11.9)	(0.0)
D	28	7	10	10	1	9	4	3	2	0
	(47.5)	(25.0)	(35.7)	(35.7)	(3.6)	(25.0)	(44.4)	(33.3)	(22.2)	(0.0)
E	48	15	22	11	0	35	11	18	5	1
	(62.3)	(31.3)	(45.8)	(22.9)	(0.0)	(38.5)	(31.4)	(51.4)	(14.3)	(2.9)
F	48	6	26	15	1	26	5	12	9	0
	(58.5)	(12.5)	(54.1)	(31.3)	(2.1)	(48.1)	(19.2)	(46.2)	(34.6)	(0.0)
G	51	14	18	16	3	41	15	15	10	1
	(56.7)	(27.5)	(35.3)	(31.4)	(5.9)	(42.3)	(36.6)	(36.6)	(24.4)	(2.4)
Total	272	71	111	82	8	192	56	85	46	5
	(100.0)	(26.1)	(40.8)	(30.1)	(2.9)	(100.0)	(29.2)	(44.3)	(24.0)	(2.6)

For females, the highest proportions who reported participating once per week attended School D, with the lowest attending School B. Over one-half of females who were at School C reported participating twice per week and were more likely than those from the other schools to do so; the lowest proportion of females who reported participating twice per week attended School A. The opposite was true for participation 3-4 times per week with four times as many females from School A than School C claiming to participate this frequently (Table 5.12).

Tables 5.13 and 5.14 indicate the weekly frequency of participation in extra-curricular PE by 15- and 16-year-old males and females respectively. Among males, equal proportions (26%) of 15- and 16-year-olds reported participating once per week, over four-in-ten 16-year-olds compared with 38% of 15-year-olds reported doing so twice per week, and more males in the younger age group (33%) compared to those aged 16 (26%) reported participating 3-4 times per week (Table 5.13). In terms of school-related differences, the highest proportion of 15-year-olds who reported participating once per week attended School C and were twice as likely as those from School F to report participating this frequently (Table 5.13). Six-in-ten 15-year-olds at School E reported participating twice per week, with the lowest proportions attending School A. The opposite was true for participation 3-4 times per week, with those from School A being five times more likely than those from School E to report participating this frequently (Table 5.13). For 16-year-olds, the smallest proportion who reported participating once per week attended School F and the highest proportion attended School D, whilst the lowest proportions attended School C. Those who attended School F were twice as likely as those from Schools B, C and D to report participating 3-4 times per week (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Frequency of weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by 15- and 16-year-old males by school

School	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Total 15-year-olds	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Total 16-year-olds
A	5	3	9	0	17	2	4	2	0	8
	(29.4)	(17.6)	(52.9)	(0.0)	(58.6)	(25.0)	(50.0)	(25.0)	(0.0)	(66.7)
B	8	12	9	0	29	2	6	2	1	10
	(27.6)	(41.4)	(31.0)	(0.0)	(59.2)	(20.0)	(60.0)	(20.0)	(10.0)	(45.5)
C	7	4	5	2	18	5	6	3	1	15
	(38.9)	(22.2)	(27.8)	(11.1)	(38.3)	(33.3)	(40.0)	(20.0)	(6.7)	(50.0)
D	5	8	9	1	23	2	2	1	0	5
	(21.7)	(34.8)	(39.1)	(4.3)	(52.3)	(40.0)	(40.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)	(33.3)
E	3	6	1	0	10	12	16	10	0	38
	(30.0)	(60.0)	(10.0)	(0.0)	(50.0)	(31.6)	(42.1)	(26.3)	(0.0)	(61.3)
F	5	17	8	0	30	1	9	7	1	18
	(16.7)	(56.7)	(26.7)	(0.0)	(61.2)	(5.6)	(50.0)	(38.9)	(5.6)	(64.3)
G	6	7	9	2	24	8	11	7	1	27
	(25.0)	(29.2)	(37.5)	(8.3)	(49.0)	(29.6)	(40.7)	(25.9)	(3.7)	(44.3)
Total	39	57	50	5	151	32	54	32	4	121
	(25.8)	(37.7)	(33.1)	(3.3)	(100.0)	(26.4)	(44.6)	(26.4)	(3.3)	(100.0)

For females, the highest proportion of 15-year-olds who reported participating once and twice per week attended Schools E and C, respectively, whilst those from Schools B and D were the least likely to report doing so once and twice per week (Table 5.14). In terms of participating 3-4 times per week, those who attended School A were more likely than those from School C to report participating this frequently. Amongst 16-year-olds, over one-third of females who attended School G reported participating once per week, and over six-in-ten of those from Schools D and F claimed to participate twice per week and 3-4 times per week, respectively. The lowest proportions of females who reported participating once per week, twice per week and 3-4 times per week attended Schools F, A and E respectively (Table 5.14).

In terms of the time spent participating in extra-curricular PE (Table 5.15), the greatest proportion of males who reported participating for less than 1 hour per week attended School A, whilst no males from Schools D, E and F reported spending this amount of time participating. In all seven schools, the majority of males reported spending 1-5 hours participating in extra-curricular PE each week, with over seven-in-ten doing so in two schools (Schools D and G) (Table 5.15). Just under two-fifths of males who attended School B reported participating 6-10 hours each week compared to 16% of those from School A, whilst similar proportions of males from all schools reported spending 11-15 hours doing so (Table 5.15). For females, the greatest proportion of those who reported participating for less than 1 hour per week attended School D, whilst no females from Schools B, E and G reported spending this amount of time participating. In each school, the greatest proportion of females reported participating in extra-curricular PE for 1-5 hours each week, which ranged from over four-fifths doing so in two schools (Schools E and G) to just under one-half of

females in Schools A and F (Table 5.14). The highest proportion of females who reported participating 11-15 hours each week attended School F, the lowest proportion attended School D, whilst those from School A (27%) were more likely to report spending 11-15 hours doing so than those form other schools (Table 5.15).

In terms of the school-related differences between 15-year-old males' weekly participation in extra-curricular PE, Table 5.16 indicates that those who reported spending less than 1 hour doing so were more likely to have attended School A, and the greatest proportion of those who reported participating for 1-5 hours attended one of the SSCs (School F) where over seven-in-ten males claimed to participate this frequently. Over four times as many 15-year-olds who attended Schools B and C than School A reported participating in extra-curricular PE for 6-10 hours, and those from Schools E and F reported participating for 11-15 hours in greater proportions than those from the five other schools (Table 5.16). For 16-year-olds, only one participant (School G) reported spending less than 1 hour participating in extra-curricular PE each week, and with the exception of those at School F, the highest proportion of 16-year-olds reported that they spent 1-5 hours doing so. Those who attended School F reported participating in higher proportions for 6-10 hours and 11-15 hours compared to those from the other schools in the sample (Table 5.16).

Table 5.14 Frequency of weekly extra-curricular physical education participation (n and %) by 15- and 16-year-old females by school

School	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Total 15 year olds	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Total 16 year olds
A	1	2	4	1	8	3	1	3	0	7
	(12.5)	(25.0)	(50.0)	(12.5)	(23.5)	(42.9)	(14.3)	(42.9)	(0.0)	(50.0)
B	1	9	6	2	18	2	2	2	0	6
	(5.6)	(50.0)	(33.3)	(11.1)	(25.7)	(33.3)	(33.3)	(33.3)	(0.0)	(23.1)
C	10	16	2	0	28	4	7	3	0	14
	(35.7)	(57.1)	(7.1)	(0.0)	(44.4)	(28.6)	(50.0)	(21.4)	(0.0)	(50.0)
D	3	1	2	0	6	1	2	0	0	3
	(50.0)	(16.7)	(33.3)	(0.0)	(31.6)	(33.3)	(66.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(17.6)
E	7	4	1	0	12	4	14	4	1	23
	(58.3)	(33.3)	(8.3)	(0.0)	(41.4)	(17.3)	(60.9)	(17.3)	(4.3)	(37.1)
F	5	9	4	0	18	0	3	5	0	8
	(27.8)	(50.0)	(22.2)	(0.0)	(45.0)	(0.0)	(37.5)	(62.5)	(0.0)	(57.1)
G	9	9	6	0	24	6	6	4	1	17
	(37.5)	(37.5)	(25.0)	(0.0)	(58.5)	(35.3)	(35.3)	(23.5)	(5.9)	(47.2)
Total	36	50	25	3	114	20	35	21	2	78
	(31.6)	(43.9)	(21.9)	(2.6)	(10.0)	(25.6)	(43.6)	(26.9)	(2.6)	(100.0)

Table 5.15 Time spent by males and females (on average) participating (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education each week by school

School	Total Males	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Total Females	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours
A	25	6	14	4	1	15	1	7	3	4
	(61.0)	(24.0)	(56.0)	(16.0)	(4.0)	(31.3)	(6.7)	(46.7)	(20.0)	(26.7)
B	39	1	22	15	1	24	0	13	10	1
	(54.9)	(2.6)	(56.4)	(38.5)	(2.6)	(25.0)	(0.0)	(54.2)	(41.7)	(4.2)
C	33	1	21	10	1	42	2	28	8	4
	(42.9)	(3.0)	(63.6)	(30.3)	(3.0)	(46.2)	(4.8)	(66.7)	(19.0)	(9.5)
D	28	0	20	6	2	9	1	6	1	1
	(47.5)	(0.0)	(71.4)	(21.4)	(7.1)	(25.0)	(11.1)	(54.5)	(11.1)	(11.1)
E	48	0	32	15	1	35	0	29	6	0
	(62.3)	(0.0)	(66.7)	(31.3)	(2.1)	(38.5)	(0.0)	(82.9)	(17.1)	(0.0)
F	48	0	29	13	6	26	1	12	11	2
	(58.5)	(0.0)	(60.4)	(27.1)	(2.3)	(48.1)	(3.8)	(46.2)	(42.3)	(7.7)
G	51	1	36	13	1	41	0	33	6	2
	(56.7)	(2.0)	(70.6)	(25.6)	(2.0)	(42.3)	(0.0)	(80.5)	(14.6)	(4.9)
Total	272	9	174	76	13	192	5	128	45	14
	(100.0)	(3.3)	(64.0)	(27.9)	(4.8)	(100.0)	(2.6)	(66.7)	(23.4)	(7.3)

Table 5.16 Time spent by 15- and 16-year-old males (on average) participating (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education each week by school

School	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Total 15 year olds	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Total 16 year olds
A	6	8	2	1	17	0	6	2	0	8
	(35.3)	(47.1)	(11.8)	(5.9)	(58.6)	(0.0)	(75.0)	(25.0)	(0.0)	(66.7)
B	1	14	13	1	29	0	8	2	0	10
	(3.4)	(48.3)	(44.8)	(3.4)	(59.2)	(0.0)	(80.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)	(45.5)
C	1	9	8	0	18	0	12	2	1	15
	(5.6)	(50.0)	(44.4)	(0.0)	(38.3)	(0.0)	(80.0)	(13.3)	(6.7)	(50.0)
D	0	16	5	2	23	0	4	1	0	5
	(0.0)	(69.6)	(21.7)	(8.7)	(52.3)	(0.0)	(80.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)	(33.3)
E	0	6	3	1	10	0	26	12	0	38
	(0.0)	(60.0)	(30.0)	(10.0)	(50.0)	(0.0)	(68.4)	(31.6)	(0.0)	(61.3)
F	0	22	5	3	30	0	7	8	3	18
	(0.0)	(73.3)	(16.7)	(10.0)	(61.2)	(0.0)	(38.9)	(44.4)	(16.7)	(64.3)
G	0	15	9	0	24	1	21	4	1	27
	(0.0)	(62.5)	(37.5)	(0.0)	(49.0)	(3.7)	(77.8)	(14.8)	(3.7)	(44.3)
Total	8	90	45	8	151	1	84	31	5	121
	(5.3)	(59.6)	(29.8)	(5.3)	(100.0)	(0.8)	(69.4)	(25.6)	(4.1)	(0.0)

Table 5.17 Time spent by 15- and 16-year-old females (on average) participating (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education each week by school

School	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Total 15 year olds	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	Total 16 year olds
A	1	3	1	3	8	0	4	2	1	7
	(12.5)	(37.5)	(12.5)	(37.5)	(23.5)	(0.0)	(57.1)	(28.6)	(14.3)	(50.0)
B	0	9	8	1	18	0	4	2	0	6
	(0.0)	(50.0)	(44.4)	(5.6)	(25.7)	(0.0)	(66.7)	(33.3)	(0.0)	(23.1)
C	2	20	4	2	28	0	8	4	2	14
	(7.1)	(71.4)	(14.3)	(7.1)	(44.4)	(0.0)	(57.1)	(28.6)	(14.3)	(50.0)
D	0	4	1	1	6	1	2	0	0	3
	(0.0)	(66.7)	(16.7)	(16.7)	(31.6)	(33.3)	(66.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(17.6)
E	0	11	1	0	12	0	18	5	0	23
	(0.0)	(91.7)	(8.3)	(0.0)	(41.4)	(0.0)	(78.2)	(21.7)	(0.0)	(37.1)
F	1	9	6	2	18	0	3	5	0	8
	(5.6)	(50.0)	(33.3)	(11.1)	(45.0)	(0.0)	(37.5)	(62.5)	(0.0)	(57.1)
G	0	19	4	1	24	0	14	2	1	17
	(0.0)	(79.2)	(16.7)	(4.2)	(58.5)	(0.0)	(82.4)	(11.8)	(5.9)	(47.2)
Total	4	75	25	10	114	1	53	20	4	78
	(3.5)	(65.8)	(21.9)	(8.8)	(100.0)	(1.3)	(67.9)	(25.6)	(5.1)	(100.0)

Amongst females, a very small proportion of 15-year-olds who attended Schools A, C and F reported participating for less than 1 hour per week in extra-curricular PE each week, whilst three times as many from School E compared to School A reported spending 1-5 hours doing so (Table 5.17). The highest proportion of those who participated for 6-10 hours and 11-15 hours each week attended Schools B and A, respectively, and the lowest proportion attended School E (Table 5.17). For 16-year-olds, only one participant (School D) reported spending less than 1 hour participating in extra-curricular PE each week, and with the exception of those at School F, the highest proportion of 16-year-olds reported that they spent 1-5 hours doing so. Higher proportions of those who attended School F reported participating for 6-10 hours each week in extra-curricular PE, whilst small proportions of those who attended Schools A, C and G claimed to spend 11-15 hours doing so (Table 5.17).

Number of sports and physical activities participated in during extra-curricular physical education by school

In terms of the range of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds had been involved in extra-curricular PE over the past 12 months, Table 5.18 indicates that whilst young people in each of the schools reported participating in one sport or physical activity (on average) in extra-curricular PE, those who attended School F – a SSC – reported participating in the highest mean number (1.93) of activities compared to those from School B who indicated participating in the lowest mean number of activities (1.02). The total number of sports and physical activities done by males and females as part of extra-curricular PE in each of the schools included in the study are presented in Tables D1-D3 in Appendix D.

Table 5.18 Mean number of sports and physical activities done in extra-curricular physical education by school

School	Mean number of sports and physical activities	Inter-quartile range
A	1.47	1.00
B	1.02	1.00
C	1.64	3.00
D	1.12	1.00
E	1.47	3.00
F	1.93	3.00
G	1.43	2.00
Total	1.44	2.00

Whilst the mean number of sports and physical activities was similar across all schools, some school-related variation was observed for occasional and frequent participation in the number of sports undertaken as part of extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months (Tables D4-D5 in Appendix D). In terms of occasional participation, the highest proportion (four-fifths) of males and females who reported doing no sport or physical activity occasionally in extra-curricular PE during the previous 12 months attended School D, and the lowest (two-thirds) who claimed to have done so attended School F (Table D4 in Appendix D). The highest proportion who reported doing 1 or 2 sports occasionally attended School F, those who attended School C were more likely than those from the other schools to report participating in 3 or 4 sports and 5 or more sports occasionally (Table D4 in Appendix D).

For males, four-fifths of those who attended School D reported participating in no sports or physical activities occasionally in extra-curricular PE in the last 12 months, with the lowest number (six-in-ten) who claimed to do so attending School A (Table D6 in Appendix D). Approximately one-quarter of those who attended Schools A and F also reported doing 1 or 2 sports occasionally, and one-in-ten males at Schools A, B

and D (Table D6 in Appendix D). For females, approximately nine-in-ten of those who attended School D reported not participating in any sports or physical activities occasionally in extra-curricular PE in the last 12 months, with just under two-thirds (the lowest proportion) who reported doing so attending School C (Table D7 in Appendix D). The highest proportion of females who reported doing 1 or 2 sports occasionally attended School G, those who attended School C were more likely than those from the other schools to report participating in 3 or 4 sports and 5 or more sports occasionally (Table D7 in Appendix D).

In terms of frequent participation, just under seven-in-ten young people who attended School B reported participating in no sports or physical activities in extra-curricular PE in the last 12 months, and the lowest proportion (56%) who reported doing so attended Schools E and F (Table D5 in Appendix D). It is also evident that the highest proportion (one-third) of those who reported doing 1 or 2 sports frequently attended School G, and those who attended Schools A and F reported playing 3 or 4 and 5 or more sports, respectively, on a frequent basis as part of extra-curricular PE (Table D5 in Appendix D). For males, the highest proportion (six-in-ten) of those who reported participating in no sports or physical activities frequently attended School C, with the lowest proportion (four-fifths) attending School E (Table D8 in Appendix D). Four-fifths of those who attended School E also reported playing 1 or 2 sports frequently, equal proportions of those who attended Schools A and F (17%) reported doing 3 or 4 sports as part of extra-curricular PE, and just under one-in-ten who attended School C reported doing 5 or more sports frequently (Table D8 in Appendix D).

For females, those who attended School D were more likely than those from the other schools to report participating in no sports and physical activities frequently in extra-curricular PE; the lowest proportion of those who reported participating in no sports and physical activities frequently attended Schools E and F (Table D9 in Appendix D). One-quarter of females who attended Schools E and G also reported participating in 1 or 2 sports frequently, just-under one-in-ten of those who attended School F claimed to do 3 or 4 sports, and equal proportions of those at Schools E and F reported playing 5 or more sports frequently in the last 12 months (Table D9 in Appendix D).

Sports and physical activities done during extra-curricular physical education by school

In a similar manner to NCPE, the rates of participation, range and particular blend of activities that characterized the participatory profiles of 15-16-year-olds' involvement in extra-curricular PE varied according to the school in which they were taught. In relation to the frequent participation of males, for example, Table 5.19 indicates that football was the only reported sport that was played in all of the schools and that also appeared in the top five most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently in extra-curricular PE generally. Indeed, football was the most widely-played and reported sport in six schools and was played by twice as many males than any other sport in all schools, except School F where similar proportions also did multi-gym/fitness. Basketball, the next most widely-played extra-curricular sport overall, featured in the top five most commonly played activities in six of the schools, and badminton featured in five schools (Table 5.19). By contrast, rugby union, which featured in the top five most widely-played sports and physical activities appeared in the top five most commonly played activities in just two schools, whilst the same was

the case for multi-gym/fitness in one of the schools (Table 5.19). Among the sports that featured in the top five most widely-played extra-curricular PE activities in schools but did not appear in the top five most commonly played activities overall, included, in different schools, tennis, trampolining, squash, baseball, canoeing and athletics, whilst swimming and cricket featured in the top five sports played in three and four schools, respectively, but not in the top 5 overall (Table 5.19).

It can also be seen from Table 5.20 that the only sport that featured in the 5 most widely-played sports that were reported as being done frequently by females in extra-curricular PE in each of the schools was netball, followed by rounders and swimming, which were among the most widely reported sports that were played in four schools, and hockey in two schools. Tennis and trampolining featured in the top five most widely-played sports and physical activities in three schools but did not feature in the top five overall. The same was also the case for dance and athletics in two schools, and for multi-gym/fitness, football and basketball in one school (Table 5.20).

A further indication of the variation that existed between schools in the frequent participation of young people in six different activities in extra-curricular PE is evident from Tables 5.21 and 5.22. Indeed, it is apparent from Table 5.21 that whilst invasion games were reported as being the most widely pursued group of activities among males, participation in these activities varied from one-third in School C to just under one-half in School B. Twice as many males who attended Schools A and E reported doing racket games than those in Schools B, D and E, whilst males were twice as likely to have reported playing racket games at School G than School C (Table 5.21).

Table 5.19 Top 5 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently by males (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education by school

Ranking	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
1	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football	Football	Multi-gym	Football
	140	12	21	17	21	24	21	25
	(51.9)	(48.0)	(53.8)	(51.5)	(75.0)	(50.0)	(43.4)	(49.0)
2	Basketball	Tennis	Basketball	Basketball	Badminton	Rugby Union	Football	Rugby Union
	39	5	8	8	8	13	20	19
	(14.3)	(20.0)	(20.5)	(24.4)	(28.6)	(27.1)	(41.7)	(37.3)
3	Badminton	Basketball	Badminton	Badminton	Swimming	Badminton	Basketball	Badminton
	37	3	5	5	5	8	8	10
	(13.6)	(12.0)	(12.8)	(15.2)	(17.9)	(16.7)	(16.7)	(19.6)
4	Rugby Union	Trampolining	Cricket	Cricket	Baseball	Canoeing	Athletics	Cricket
	35	3	3	5	4	5	7	7
	(12.8)	(12.0)	(7.7)	(15.2)	(14.3)	(10.4)	(14.6)	(13.7)
5	Multi-gym/fitness	Cricket	Squash	Swimming	Basketball	Athletics	Swimming	Basketball
	32	2	3	5	4	4	7	5
	(11.8)	(8.0)	(7.7)	(15.2)	(14.3)	(8.3)	(14.6)	(9.8)
Total	272	25	39	33	28	48	48	51

Table 5.20 Top 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities done frequently by females (n and %) in extra-curricular physical education by school

Ranking	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
1	Netball 46 (24.0)	Netball 6 (40.0)	Netball 9 (37.5)	Rounders 7 (16.7)	Football 3 (33.3)	Badminton 8 (22.9)	Multi-gym/ fitness 8 (30.1)	Hockey 11 (26.8)
2	Hockey 29 (15.2)	Rounders 4 (26.7)	Dance 4 (16.7)	Badminton 6 (14.3)	Netball 3 (33.3)	Hockey 8 (22.9)	Netball 6 (23.1)	Netball 10 (24.4)
3	Rounders 28 (14.7)	Swimming 4 (26.7)	Athletics 3 (12.5)	Netball 6 (14.3)	Swimming 3 (33.3)	Athletics 6 (17.1)	Dance 5 (19.2)	Rounders 9 (22.0)
4	Badminton 22 (11.5)	Badminton 1 (6.7)	Rounders 3 (12.5)	Multi-gym/ fitness 5 (11.9)	Basketball 2 (22.2)	Netball 6 (23.1)	Swimming 3 (11.5)	Trampolining 8 (19.5)
5	Swimming 21 (11.0)	Tennis 1 (26.7)	Badminton 2 (8.3)	Tennis 5 (11.9)	Trampolining 2 (22.2)	Swimming 6 (23.1)	Trampolining 3 (11.5)	Tennis 6 (14.6)
Total	192	15	24	42	9	35	26	41

Table 5.21 Participation (n and %) by males in six different categories of activities in extra-curricular physical education by school

Category of Activity	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
Invasion games	210	17	34	25	24	36	32	42
	(42.3)	(41.5)	(47.9)	(32.5)	(40.7)	(43.9)	(41.6)	(46.7)
Striking games	60	7	6	11	5	14	7	10
	(12.1)	(17.1)	(8.5)	(14.3)	(8.5)	(17.1)	(9.1)	(11.1)
Racket games	92	15	15	9	8	14	14	22
	(18.5)	(21.2)	(21.2)	(11.7)	(13.6)	(17.1)	(18.2)	(24.4)
Swimming & diving	55	1	5	11	9	10	11	8
	(11.1)	(2.4)	(7.0)	(14.3)	(15.3)	(12.2)	(14.3)	(8.9)
Dance	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	(0.4)	(2.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.1)
Outdoor & adventurous activities	47	3	2	15	2	10	11	4
	(9.5)	(7.3)	(2.8)	(19.5)	(3.4)	(12.2)	(14.3)	(4.4)
Athletics & gymnastic activities	109	14	14	15	9	18	36	14
	(24.0)	(19.7)	(19.7)	(20.5)	(15.3)	(21.9)	(46.8)	(15.6)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

The highest proportions of males who reported doing OAA attended Schools C, E and F, whilst very few males who were at the other schools did so. Athletic and gymnastic activities were done by twice as many males at School F than Schools D and G, and males at Schools A and B were less likely than those in the other five schools to have reported doing swimming and diving as part of extra-curricular PE. Dance was an almost female-exclusive extra-curricular activity in all schools (Table 5.21).

As Table 5.22 indicates, whilst not as popular as they were amongst males, invasion games were also reportedly played by females, with the largest proportion participating at School G and the lowest attended School E. Striking games were reported by the highest proportions of females at School C, but were not played at all by young women at School D (Table 5.22). Similarly, racket games were also reported by more females who attended School C, whilst very few of those from Schools A and D did so. Those who reported participating in swimming and diving and dance were more likely to have attended Schools E and F, respectively, than those from any other school (Table 5.22). Athletic and gymnastic activities were reportedly played by the highest proportion of females at School E who were six times more likely to have done so than those who attended School B. The highest participation level in OAA in extra-curricular PE was reported by females who attended School C, whilst very few young women at each of the other schools reported doing so (Table 5.22).

Table 5.22 Participation (n and %) by females in six different categories of activities in extra-curricular physical education by school

Category of Activity	Overall	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
Invasion games	110 (21.4)	11 (22.9)	13 (13.3)	21 (23.1)	6 (16.7)	15 (16.5)	13 (24.1)	31 (31.9)
Striking games	54 (10.5)	7 (14.6)	6 (6.3)	15 (16.5)	0 (0.0)	6 (6.6)	7 (13.0)	13 (13.4)
Racket games	56 (10.9)	2 (4.2)	5 (5.2)	17 (18.7)	1 (2.8)	15 (16.5)	4 (7.5)	12 (13.4)
Swimming & diving	40 (7.8)	4 (8.3)	5 (5.2)	9 (9.9)	3 (8.3)	12 (13.2)	5 (9.3)	2 (2.1)
Dance	27 (5.3)	2 (4.2)	6 (6.3)	2 (2.2)	1 (2.8)	2 (2.2)	6 (11.1)	8 (8.2)
Outdoor & adventurous activities	29 (5.7)	2 (4.2)	1 (1.0)	15 (16.5)	0 (0.0)	8 (8.8)	3 (5.6)	0 (0.0)
Athletics & gymnastic activities	89 (17.3)	7 (14.6)	11 (11.4)	20 (22.0)	5 (13.9)	14 (65.4)	19 (35.2)	13 (14.5)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Sex-, age- and school-related differences in young people's participation in six extra-curricular physical education activity areas

It was noted above that there were sex-, age- and school-related differences in relation to the levels and frequency of 15-16-year-olds' reported participation in extra-curricular PE, as well as the kinds of sports and physical activities in which they claimed to be involved. However, it is also noteworthy that additional (statistically significant) sex-, age- and school-related differences were found in young people's reported participation in the six extra-curricular PE activity areas: namely, games (incorporating invasion games, striking games and racket games), athletic and gymnastic activities, outdoor and adventure activities, swimming and dance. These patterns are described below.

Games: Invasion

The relationship between the number of invasion games in which males and females had been involved as part of extra-curricular PE and sex was highly significant ($\chi^2 = 52.8$, $p < .0005$), with females more likely to have reported doing no invasion games than males (Table D10 in Appendix D). Males were thus more likely to have reported doing 1 and 2-4 of these kinds of activities over the past year (Table D10 in Appendix D). Age and the school attended were not significantly related to young people's participation in invasion games.

Striking games and golf

No significant relationships were observed between participation in striking games and golf and the three specified factors.

Games: Racket

Participation in racket games and sex (χ^2 =14.9, p < .0005) were significantly related, with females more likely to have reported participating in no racket games in the past year than males, and males were more likely to have reported participating in one racket game than females. Males were also approximately three times as likely to have reported doing two or more racket games compared to females (Table D10 in Appendix D). While there were significant differences due to the school attended and sex (females only, χ^2 =14.9, p < .006), where those females from Schools C, E and G were more likely to have reported participating in one and two or more racket games in extra-curricular PE (Table D12 in Appendix D), the differences between age, school attended and sex were non-significant.

Athletic and gymnastic activities

The relationship between participation in athletic and gymnastic activities and sex, was significant (χ^2 =9.7, p < .008), with females more likely to have reported being involved in none of these kinds of activities in the past year (Table D10 in Appendix D). Conversely, males were more likely than females to have reported participating in 2 or more athletic and gymnastic activities, and similar proportions of both sexes reported doing 1 athletic and gymnastic activity in the past year (Table D10 in Appendix D). Significant school-related differences (χ^2 =53.4, p < .0005) and differences between the school attended and sex (males, χ^2 =36.0, p < .0005; females, χ^2 =31.7, p < .002) as well as those between the school attended and age (15-year-olds only, χ^2 =45.8, p < .0005) were also observed (Table D12-D16 in Appendix D). Overall, those young people who attended Schools A and F were more likely to have reported doing 1 and 2 or more athletic and gymnastic activities than those at the other

five schools, as did those aged 15 at School F (Table D12 in Appendix D). In terms of the differences in participation according to the school attended and sex, males and females at School F and males at School A were more likely to have reported participating in 1 and 2 or more athletic activities, while females from Schools A, C and D were more likely to have reported doing 1 of these activities as part of extra-curricular PE than those from Schools B, E, F and G (Table D11-D16 in Appendix D).

Outdoor and adventurous activities

Notwithstanding the fact that the relationships between participation in OAA and sex and age were non-significant, highly significant differences were found between young people's involvement in OAA and the school attended (χ^2 =49.9, $p < .0005$), the school attended and sex (males, χ^2 =20.9, $p < .002$; females, χ^2 =33.7, $p < .0005$), and between the school attended and age (15-year-olds, χ^2 =25.3, $p < .0005$; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =31.7, $p < .0005$). Indeed, greater proportions of youngsters overall – and for males as well as females, and for those aged 15 and 16 – who had reported participating in 1 or more OAA in the past year, had attended Schools C, E and F (Table D12-D16 in Appendix D).

Swimming

With the exception of 15-year-olds who attended Schools C, D, E and F being more likely to have reported participating in swimming as part of extra-curricular PE in the past year (χ^2 =17.3, $p < .008$) (Table D14 in Appendix D), no other participation-related differences were observed.

Dance

The only observed significant difference for extra-curricular participation in dance was that according to sex (χ^2 =21.4, $p < .0005$), where females were more likely than males to have danced as part of extra-curricular PE in the past year (Table D10 in Appendix D).

The latent demand for extra-curricular physical education activities

It was noted earlier that 46% of 15-16-year-olds in this study had frequently taken part in some form of extra-curricular PE during the previous 12 months. However, as Penney and Harris (1997: 45) have noted, there may exist 'a notable gap between the supply of and demand for extra-curricular activities'. Approximately one-half of all males in the present study, one-third of 15-year-old females and just under one-half of 16-year-old young women suggested that they would like to do so some kind of sport or activity that was not currently available to them as part of extra-curricular PE at their school. To help provide an indication of these kinds of activities, respondents were given the opportunity to write down any sports or activities that they would wish to participate in during extra-curricular PE. Those activities that were mentioned by ten or more respondents are outlined in Table 5.23.

Although the numbers of young people represented in Table 5.23 are likely to be under-estimates because not all respondents listed at least one sport or activity when given the opportunity, it is nevertheless striking that while there are some notable sex differences in the activities listed, many of those mentioned by the youngsters reflect the more recreational, less competitive 'lifestyle' leisure activities that are becoming increasingly popular among young people and adults. In this regard, it seems that

while there was a significant minority of youngsters for whom competitive team games are evidently popular, there also appeared to be a number of other individual and partner sports and activities for which there was a latent demand in terms of extra-curricular PE participation.

Table 5.23 Sports and physical activities young people would like to do as part of extra-curricular physical education

Activity	Males (n)	Activity	Females (n)
Snooker, billiards	40	Swimming	41
Pool	39	Yoga	38
Motor sports, go-karting	37	Dance	33
Boxing	29	Ice-Skating	29
Swimming	27	Horse Riding	29
Golf	25	Trampolining	27
Fishing	21	Skiing	22
Cycling	15	Multi-gym/fitness	19
Darts	15	Football	16
Ten-pin Bowling	15	Aerobics	15
Rock Climbing	13	Rock Climbing	14
Rugby Union	13	Motor sports, Go-karting	12
Weight-training	13	Canoeing	11
Canoeing	12	Sub-aqua/snorkelling	11

Conclusion

The central object of this chapter was to identify the main features of 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity in extra-curricular PE and the extent to which sex, age and the school that young people attended impacts upon that participation. In short, the data revealed that of the 46% of youngsters who had participated in the previous 12 months, extra-curricular PE was more popular – in participatory terms – among males and 15-year-olds, who also tended to participate more frequently and spend more time doing so compared to females. While invasion games and racket games were more likely to be played by males, and athletics and gymnastic activities and dance proved to be more popular amongst young women, in general terms, competitive sport, and team games in particular, that tended to be gendered and stereotypical in orientation dominated the extra-curricular participation

of most young people – regardless of the school that they attended – who had participated in extra-curricular PE in the previous 12 months. It was, however, clear that in some schools a minority of young people participated in less stereotypical activities, and more potentially recreational, highly-individualized lifestyle activities such as badminton, multi-gym/fitness, weight-training, climbing and running/jogging. However, as the next chapter indicates, these kinds of activities featured to a much greater extent in young people's preferred leisure time sports and physical activities.

Notes

[1] In the current study, extra-curricular PE was defined as 'the provision of activities outside of the formal PE curriculum, most often after school and at lunch times, but also in some schools, at weekend and/or before school (by PE teachers)' (Penney and Harris, 1997: 42).

[2] At various points in their surveys, Sport England (2003a, 2003b) also have a parallel tendency to include participation data which relate specifically to 'extra-curricular sport and physical activity' in the catch-all category 'out of lessons'. Thus, when comparing the data generated in this study with that of Sport England, this chapter will refer only to those data included in Sport England surveys which relate specifically to what they call 'extra-curricular sport' or 'extra-curricular sport and physical activities', and not 'out of lessons' which incorporates data relating to other contexts of participation in sport and physical activity during leisure (such as sports clubs and youth clubs).

Chapter Six

Young People's Participation in Leisure-Sport and Physical Activity

Introduction

The two previous chapters examined 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity within the context of PE. The aim of this chapter is to examine in more detail the non-school dimension – that is, the leisure aspects – to their participation in sport and physical activity. In particular, by drawing upon data from the questionnaires and focus groups, it considers young people's: (i) levels and frequency of participation; (ii) the kinds of sports or activities in which they were involved; (iii) the contexts in which they participated in sport and physical activity; and (iv) their reasons for, and perceptions of, involvement in leisure sport and physical activity.

Levels and frequency of participation in leisure sport and physical activity

Of the 1,010 15-16-year-olds in the current study, 897 (89%) reported that they had participated in sport and physical activity in their leisure time during the previous 12 months, with males (95%) significantly more likely than females (83%) to report doing so (χ^2 =37.3, $p < .0005$). In addition, these sex-related differences were also influenced by age, with 15-year-old males (95%) more likely than females of the same age (80%) to report participating in sport and physical activity in their leisure time (χ^2 =28.0, $p < .0005$), while the same was true for males (95%) and females (87%) aged 16 (χ^2 =9.0, $p < .003$). No significant school-related differences were found. The total number of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds were reported to be involved in their leisure time is presented in Table 6.1. The

median number of activities that they were currently involved in at the time of the study was six.

Table 6.1 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities currently done by 15- and 16-year-old males and females in leisure in the last 12 months

Number of sports and physical activities	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
0	25	15	10	88	62	26
	(5.0)	(5.2)	(4.8)	(17.2)	(19.6)	(13.2)
1	18	10	8	24	17	7
	(3.6)	(3.5)	(3.8)	(4.7)	(5.4)	(3.6)
2	28	19	9	37	20	17
	(5.6)	(6.6)	(4.3)	(7.2)	(6.3)	(8.6)
3	37	23	14	58	41	17
	(7.4)	(8.0)	(6.7)	(11.3)	(13.0)	(8.6)
4	45	25	20	57	37	20
	(9.1)	(8.7)	(9.5)	(11.1)	(11.7)	(10.2)
5	39	26	13	36	23	13
	(7.8)	(9.1)	(6.2)	(7.0)	(7.3)	(6.6)
6	43	28	15	41	24	17
	(8.7)	(9.8)	(7.1)	(8.0)	(7.6)	(8.6)
7	34	20	14	33	19	14
	(6.8)	(7.0)	(6.7)	(6.4)	(6.0)	(7.1)
8	46	22	24	30	13	17
	(9.3)	(7.7)	(11.4)	(5.8)	(4.1)	(8.6)
9	34	19	15	25	10	15
	(6.8)	(6.6)	(7.1)	(4.9)	(3.2)	(7.6)
10	34	16	18	16	10	6
	(6.8)	(5.6)	(8.6)	(3.1)	(3.2)	(3.0)
11	31	20	11	14	11	3
	(6.2)	(7.0)	(5.2)	(2.7)	(3.5)	(1.5)
12	16	8	8	16	5	11
	(3.2)	(2.8)	(3.8)	(3.1)	(1.6)	(5.6)
13	15	8	7	9	6	3
	(3.0)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(1.8)	(1.9)	(1.5)
14	10	6	4	10	7	3
	(2.0)	(2.1)	(1.9)	(1.9)	(2.2)	(1.5)
15 or more	42	22	20	20	12	8
	(8.5)	(7.7)	(9.5)	(3.9)	(3.8)	(4.1)
Total	497	287	210	513	316	197

The average weekly involvement of those young people (472 males; 425 females) who reported participating in leisure-sport and physical activity over the past 12 months is shown in Table 6.2, which indicates that although there were no apparent age differences in participation, there were variations in the frequency of participation between the sexes (χ^2 =102.6, $p < .0005$) and between males and females of the same age (15-year-olds, χ^2 =56.0, $p < .0005$; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =47.5, $p < .0005$). Overall, males aged 15 and 16 were the more frequent weekly participants and females were more likely to report that they did not currently participate or participated once or twice per week in sport and physical activity in their leisure time (Table 6.2). In addition, although equal proportions of both sexes reported participating 3-4 times per week, twice as many males than females participated 5-6 times per week, and three times as many males than females reported participating in sport and physical activity in their leisure time every day of the week (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Weekly participation (n and %) in sport and physical activity during leisure in the last 12 months by sex and age

Weekly involvement	Males 15-years-old	Males 16-years-old	Total Males	Females 15-years-old	Females 16-years-old	Total Females
Do not participate	15 (1.5)	10 (1.0)	25 (2.5)	62 (6.1)	26 (2.6)	88 (8.7)
Once	14 (5.1)	5 (2.5)	19 (4.0)	36 (14.2)	20 (11.7)	56 (13.2)
Twice	35 (12.9)	23 (11.5)	58 (12.3)	75 (29.5)	51 (29.8)	126 (29.6)
3-4 times	103 (37.9)	81 (40.5)	184 (39.0)	96 (37.8)	67 (39.2)	163 (38.4)
5-6 times	62 (22.8)	51 (25.5)	113 (23.9)	26 (10.2)	23 (13.5)	49 (11.5)
Everyday	58 (21.3)	40 (20.0)	98 (20.8)	21 (8.3)	10 (5.8)	31 (7.3)
Total	272	200	472	254	171	425

Similar patterns were observed between males and females of the same age, with the exceptions being that four times as many 15-year-old females than males aged 15

reported that they currently did not participate in any leisure-sport or physical activity, and four times as many females aged 16 than males of the same age reported doing so once per week (Table 6.2). Females in the younger age group were also three times more likely than 15-year-old males to report that they had participated twice per week in leisure sport and physical activity, and were twice as likely to do so as males every day of the week (Table 6.2).

The above differences notwithstanding, these data suggest that 15-16-year-olds' levels of participation in sport and physical activity in their leisure time were differentially located along a bell-shaped curve or continuum stretching between, at one end, a minority of youngsters (especially males) who demonstrated high frequencies of participation both relatively and absolutely, and, at the other, a minority (particularly females) who do relatively little or nothing each week, with most youngsters participating towards the middle (Figure 6.1). In light of the fact that no significant school- or age-related differences existed, this picture of the distribution of young people's participation levels in leisure-sport and physical activity is representative of this study sample (Tables E1-E2 in Appendix E).

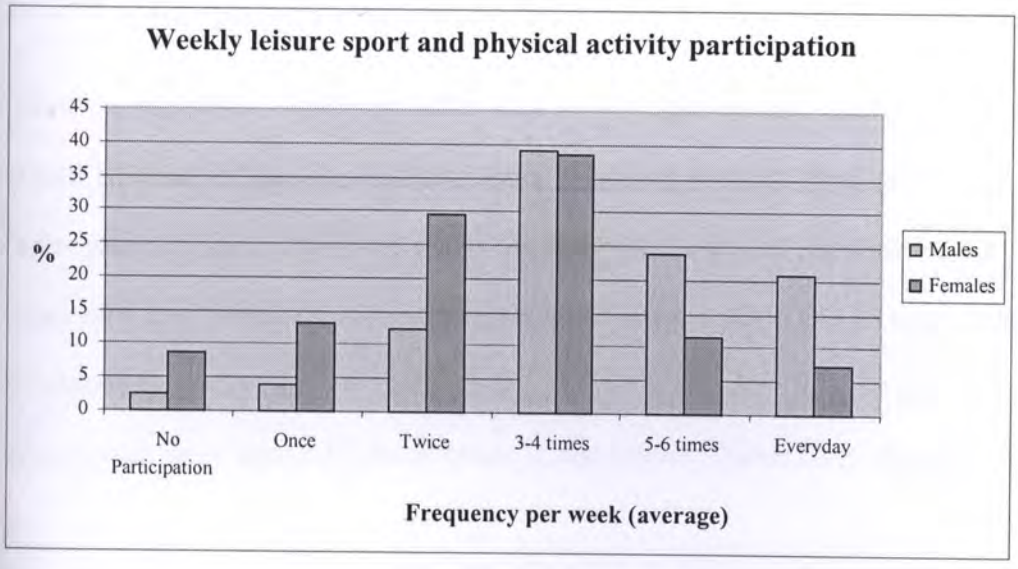

Figure 6.1 Weekly leisure sport and physical activity participation

As well as participating in sport and physical activity more frequently each week, males were also significantly more likely to report spending greater amounts of their leisure time doing so (χ^2 =92.8, $p < .0005$). For example, while twice as many females than males claimed to allocate 1-5 hours to leisure-sport and physical activity each week, larger proportions of males than females were reportedly involved for 6-10 hours each week, and twice as many males than females claimed to spend 11-15 hours doing so (Figure 6.2 and Table 6.3). Three times as many males than females reported spending 16 hours or more each week participating in sport and physical activity (Figure 6.2 and Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Amount of time spent (n and %) doing sport and physical activity in leisure each week in the past 12 months, by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males 15-years-old	Males 16-years-old	Total Males	Females 15-years-old	Females 16-years-old	Total Females
Less than 1 hour	1 (0.4)	2 (1.0)	3 (0.6)	8 (3.1)	2 (1.2)	10 (2.4)
1-5	75 (27.6)	48 (24.0)	123 (26.1)	135 (68.2)	91 (53.2)	226 (53.2)
6-10	104 (38.2)	83 (41.5)	187 (39.6)	85 (33.5)	50 (29.2)	135 (31.8)
11-15	50 (18.4)	28 (14.0)	78 (16.5)	15 (4.2)	16 (9.4)	31 (7.3)
16 or more	42 (15.4)	38 (19.0)	80 (16.9)	11 (4.3)	12 (7.0)	23 (5.4)
Total	272	200	472	254	171	425

While no statistically significant differences in participation were found for age and school attended, it was apparent that when compared to those from other schools, larger proportions of 15-year-old males from School C reported participating for 1-5 hours each week, while the highest proportions of males aged 15 and 16 who claimed to allocate 6-10 hours and 16 or more hours of their leisure time to sport and physical activity each week attended Schools B and E, respectively (Table E3 in Appendix E).

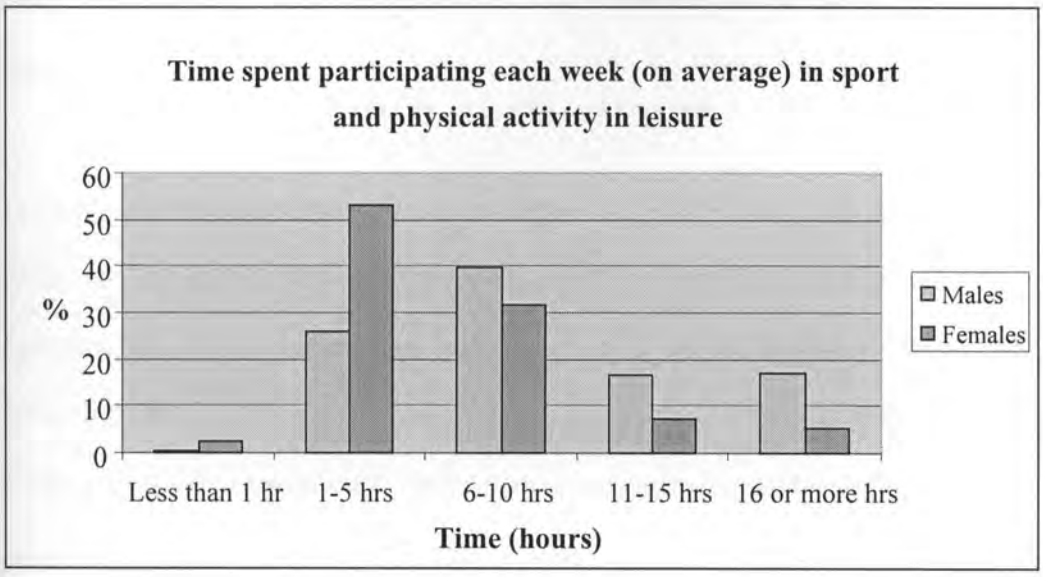

Figure 6.2 Time spent participating each week in sport and physical activity in leisure

Amongst 15-year-old young women who reported spending 1-5 hours participating, the highest proportions attended Schools B and C, while more females from School A claimed to spend 6-10 hours doing so; one-third of those from Schools C, D, E, F and G also reported allocating this amount of their leisure time to participating in sport and physical activity (Table E4 in Appendix E). For 16-year-olds, the highest proportions of young women who reported spending 1-5 hours participating attended Schools D, E and G, while more females from Schools A, C and E indicated that they spent 6-10 hours doing so (Table E4 in Appendix E).

The kinds of sports and physical activities participated in during leisure

The data in the present study reinforce the claim that overall 'young people are participating in a greater number of sporting activities in their leisure time than in school' (Sport England, 2003a: 131) with males and females claiming to be involved in over 50 sports and physical activities (57 and 54 respectively) during their leisure

time. This compares with 37 activities for males and 32 for females in school PE lessons.

In terms of the kinds of activities in which the 15-16-year-olds in this study reported being involved in their leisure time, the data are 'indicative of a preference for more individualistic, less team-oriented leisure activities' (Sport England, 2003a: 136), which differed, quite markedly in some cases, according to sex (Table 6.4) but not age (Tables E5-E6 in Appendix E) . Indeed, in participatory terms, the 20 most widely-played leisure sports and physical activities reported by the young people incorporated a blend of a small number of team sports (such as football and netball) alongside several more individualized, 'lifestyle activities' (such as swimming, cycling, running/jogging and multi-gym/fitness) that tended to be pursued more recreationally at venues such as a sports/leisure centre or mechanized gymnasium/fitness club, and which are more-or-less body-image-oriented (Table 6.4). The 10 most widely-played sports and physical activities reported by males (Table 6.4), for example, were football (including kick-about, 5- and 11-a-side), pool, swimming, snooker/billiards, cycling, darts, walking and multi-gym/fitness. For females, swimming, walking, multi-gym/fitness, pool, cycling, football (kick-about), running/jogging, aerobics, ten-pin bowling and dance were reported as being the most widely-played activities in their leisure (Table 6.4).

Thus, while significant proportions of males and females reported being involved in 'lifestyle activities' – and, for a smaller proportion, team sports – in their leisure, there were nevertheless clear sex differences both in terms of the activities in which they claimed to be involved and the frequency of involvement. Of the 20 most widely-

played sports and physical activities in leisure, three-quarters of males reported playing kick-about football compared to just under one-quarter of females, and many more males reported playing 5- and 11-a-side football, pub and cue sports (such as pool, snooker/billiards and darts), racket and partner sports (tennis, golf and squash), and were much more likely to claim that they went cycling, go weight-training and fishing as well participating in motor sports (Table 6.4). By comparison, females were more likely to report going swimming and walking than males and were far more likely to report participating in some of the more traditionally stereotypical 'female' sports and activities such as aerobics, netball, yoga, rounders, trampolining, dance, ice-skating and horse riding (Table 6.4). It is also noteworthy however, that a smaller proportion (approximately 5%) of females claimed to participate in so-called 'less traditional' activities including 5- and 11-a-side football, circuit-training, weight-training and golf. Those activities in which similar proportions of males and females were reportedly involved, included multi-gym/fitness, running/jogging, badminton and ten-pin bowling (Table 6.4).

In terms of the frequency with which 15-16-year-olds reported being involved in these activities, it is clear from Tables 6.5 and 6.6 that, generally speaking, with the exception of swimming, higher proportions of males spent more time participating 3 times or more per week and twice per week than females in those sports and physical activities that were played by both sexes. For example, reflecting their tendency to report participating more frequently in leisure overall, males were more likely to report participating 3 times or more per week and twice per week in activities such as kick-about football, multi-gym/fitness, cycling and tennis (Table 6.5).

Table 6.4 The 20 most widely-played (n and %) leisure sports and physical activities among 15- and 16-year-old males and females in leisure

Sport or physical activity	Males	Sport or physical activity	Females
Football (kick-about)	356 (75.4)	Swimming	231 (54.4)
Pool	227 (48.1)	Walking	153 (36.0)
Swimming	197 (41.7)	Multi-gym/fitness	114 (27.5)
Football (5-a-side)	196 (41.5)	Pool	112 (26.4)
Football (11-a-side)	194 (41.1)	Cycling	107 (25.2)
Snooker, billiards	168 (35.6)	Football (kick-about)	96 (22.6)
Cycling	166 (35.2)	Running/jogging	87 (20.5)
Darts	138 (29.2)	Aerobics	81 (19.1)
Walking	132 (28.0)	Ten-pin bowling	76 (17.9)
Multi-gym/fitness	127 (26.9)	Dance	71 (16.7)
Weight-training	116 (24.6)	Tennis	66 (15.5)
Tennis	104 (22.0)	Badminton	61 (14.4)
Golf	104 (22.0)	Ice-skating	44 (10.4)
Running/jogging	102 (21.6)	Horse Riding	43 (10.1)
Basketball	93 (19.7)	Snooker, billiards	42 (9.9)
Fishing	88 (18.6)	Netball	39 (9.2)
Ten-pin bowling	79 (16.7)	Darts	35 (8.2)
Badminton	73 (15.5)	Yoga	33 (7.8)
Motor Sports	60 (12.7)	Rounders	31 (7.3)
Squash	55 (11.7)	Trampolining	30 (7.1)
Total	472	Total	425

However, while similar proportions of males and females claimed to participate in some sports (such as badminton, tennis, ten-pin bowling, cycling, pool and multi-gym/fitness) on a once per week basis, with the exception of swimming, females were less likely than males to report participating once per week or more overall, and in those sports that were played by both sexes (Tables 6.5-6.6). Indeed, as indicated

earlier, although relatively high proportions of females claimed to be involved in activities such as multi-gym/fitness, swimming, walking, kick-about football, running/jogging and dance at least once per week, they were more likely to report participating less frequently – that is, 2-3 times per month or less – in some of the other most popular leisure sports and physical activities that were played by both sexes and by females only (such as pool, cycling, tennis, badminton, ice-skating, snooker/billiards, darts and rounders) (Tables 6.5-6.6).

That the leisure-sport participatory profiles of the 15-16-years-olds in this study incorporated a blend of a small number of competitive team-oriented leisure activities alongside more individualized recreational physical activities was also brought out particularly clearly by the young people who participated in the focus groups. When asked about those sports and physical activities in which they were involved in their leisure time, for example, one group of males who attended School C, and who reported participating in both competitive and more recreational activities, replied:

> A: I do triathlon competitively mainly, but I do play football two or three times every week as well after school on the field.
> B: I'm in a football team with (names); we play matches on Sunday and train once in the week as well.
> C: [Interrupts] I'm different though; I do kayaking and white-water rafting in the Welsh mountains every weekend. I'm not really into football or things like that.
> D: [Interrupts] I do football though – I play for the same team as (names) – and we also just knock a ball around after school and at lunch. I do ju-jitsu once a week after school as well but that's not for competition or anything ... It just a social club really; you don't have to go if you don't want to.
> E: I play rugby (union) for a team in Chester mainly and I'll go to Fitness First about twice a week as well to help with my rugby.
> F: Yeah, we do rugby for a team but we'll just mess around doing rugby after school on the field as well won't we?
> B: [Interrupts] That's the same for us when we play football. We'll go in the local park for social football but we also play for a club at the weekend as well. It's both competitive and recreational really isn't it because we just do it with our friends as well as for a team as well?

Table 6.5 Frequency of involvement (n and %) by males in the top 20 most widely-played leisure sports and physical activities

Activity	3 times or more per week	Twice per week	Once per week	2-3 times per month	Once per month	Total
Football (kick-about)	208	56	56	21	15	356
	(44.1)	(11.9)	(11.9)	(4.4)	(3.2)	(75.4)
Pool	46	44	56	47	34	227
	(9.7)	(9.3)	(11.9)	(10.0)	(7.2)	(48.1)
Swimming	17	22	65	47	46	197
	(3.6)	(5.2)	(13.8)	(10.0)	(9.7)	(41.7)
Football (5-a-side)	49	40	83	9	15	196
	(10.4)	(8.5)	(17.6)	(1.9)	(3.2)	(41.5)
Football (11-a-side)	58	59	62	10	5	194
	(12.3)	(12.5)	(13.1)	(2.1)	(1.1)	(41.1)
Snooker, billiards	42	31	43	33	25	168
	(8.9)	(6.6)	(9.1)	(7.0)	(5.3)	(35.6)
Cycling	81	38	21	18	8	166
	(17.2)	(8.1)	(4.4)	(3.8)	(1.7)	(35.2)
Darts	42	20	33	25	18	138
	(8.9)	(4.2)	(7.8)	(5.3)	(3.8)	(29.2)
Walking	72	20	14	15	11	132
	(15.3)	(4.2)	(3.0)	(3.2)	(2.3)	(28.0)
Multi-gym/fitness	27	42	39	16	3	127
	(5.7)	(8.9)	(8.3)	(3.4)	(0.6)	(26.9)
Weight Training	43	32	21	15	5	116
	(9.1)	(6.8)	(4.4)	(3.2)	(1.1)	(24.6)
Tennis	20	19	17	28	20	104
	(4.2)	(4.0)	(3.6)	(5.9)	(4.2)	(22.0)
Golf	18	15	22	27	22	104
	(3.8)	(3.2)	(4.7)	(5.7)	(4.7)	(22.0)
Running/jogging	34	25	26	10	7	102
	(7.2)	(5.3)	(5.5)	(2.1)	(1.5)	(21.6)

Table 6.5 (cont.)

Activity	3 times or more per week	Twice per week	Once per week	2-3 times per month	Once per month	Total
Basketball	6	20	27	26	14	93
	(1.3)	(4.2)	(5.7)	(5.5)	(3.0)	(19.7)
Fishing	7	11	25	21	24	88
	(1.5)	(2.3)	(5.3)	(4.4)	(5.1)	(18.6)
Ten-pin bowling	2	2	7	20	48	79
	(0.4)	(0.4)	(1.6)	(4.2)	(10.2)	(16.7)
Badminton	4	14	21	17	17	73
	(0.8)	(3.0)	(4.4)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(15.5)
Motor Sports	9	7	5	17	22	60
	(2.1)	(1.5)	(1.1)	(3.6)	(4.7)	(12.7)
Squash	7	8	6	19	15	55
	(1.5)	(1.7)	(1.3)	(4.0)	(3.2)	(11.7)

Table 6.6 Frequency of involvement (n and %) by females in the top 20 most widely-played leisure sports and physical activities

Activity	3 times or more per week	Twice per week	Once per week	2-3 times per month	Once per month	Total
Swimming	19 (4.5)	40 (9.4)	46 (10.8)	67 (15.8)	59 (13.9)	231 (54.4)
Walking	62 (14.6)	26 (6.1)	28 (6.6)	19 (4.5)	18 (4.2)	153 (36.0)
Multi-gym/fitness	17 (4.0)	21 (4.9)	49 (11.5)	12 (2.8)	15 (3.5)	114 (27.5)
Pool	14 (3.3)	12 (2.8)	34 (8.0)	24 (5.6)	26 (6.1)	112 (26.4)
Cycling	20 (4.7)	17 (4.0)	17 (4.0)	26 (6.1)	27 (6.4)	107 (25.2)
Football (kick-about)	28 (6.6)	14 (3.3)	28 (6.6)	12 (6.8)	14 (3.3)	96 (22.6)
Running/jogging	18 (4.2)	20 (4.7)	25 (5.9)	14 (3.3)	10 (2.4)	87 (20.5)
Aerobics	4 (0.9)	20 (4.7)	34 (8.0)	12 (2.8)	11 (2.6)	81 (19.1)
Ten-pin bowling	3 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	6 (1.4)	17 (4.0)	50 (11.8)	76 (17.9)
Dance	24 (5.6)	16 (3.8)	23 (5.4)	6 (1.4)	2 (0.5)	71 (16.7)
Tennis	2 (0.5)	7 (1.6)	18 (3.8)	20 (4.7)	19 (4.5)	66 (15.5)
Badminton	7 (1.6)	9 (2.1)	16 (3.8)	14 (3.3)	15 (3.5)	61 (14.4)
Ice-skating	4 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	7 (1.6)	12 (2.8)	21 (4.9)	44 (10.4)
Horse Riding	12 (2.8)	4 (0.9)	12 (2.8)	6 (1.4)	7 (1.6)	43 (10.1)

Table 6.6 (cont.)

Activity	3 times or more per week	Twice per week	Once per week	2-3 times per month	Once per month	Total
Snooker, billiards	3	3	12	14	10	42
	(0.7)	(0.7)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(2.4)	(9.9)
Netball	7	10	13	6	3	39
	(1.6)	(2.4)	(3.1)	(1.4)	(0.7)	(9.2)
Darts	6	2	8	9	10	35
	(1.4)	(0.5)	(1.9)	(2.1)	(2.4)	(8.2)
Yoga	5	5	14	3	6	33
	(1.2)	(1.2)	(3.3)	(0.7)	(1.4)	(7.8)
Rounders	2	2	10	8	9	31
	(0.5)	(0.5)	(2.4)	(1.9)	(2.1)	(7.3)
Trampolining	6	7	11	2	4	30
	(1.4)	(1.6)	(2.6)	(0.5)	(0.9)	(7.1)

This particular blend of more competitive team sports alongside highly individualized physical activities such as 'the gym', badminton and canoeing also characterized the kinds of activities in which another group of males (School E) claimed to be involved:

> A: I go fishing once a week when it's in season (16 June-31 March) and I play football for a team at the weekend.
> B: I just go running with one of my friends; we usually go road-running and in the hills but we do it in the park as well sometimes.
> C: [Interrupts] I go running most weeks as well but I mainly do rugby (union) – I play for a team in town – and fitness stuff.
> D: And me. We play rugby for the same team and I'll play football after school when we just have a kick-around by your own house. I also do some fitness work in the gym and motor cross as well when the season is on.
> E: [Interrupts] I'm different to all of them though; I just play basketball really.
> F: [Interrupts] And we are. We do badminton, sailing and canoeing don't we? We're not really into team stuff like football are we?
> G: Yeah, but it's mainly badminton and canoeing for me; I don't do sailing that often.

This tendency for males to report participating in a range of competitive team-oriented sports alongside more recreational physical activities was not confined to those schools located in areas that are populated by youngsters from higher up the social scale however, for males from largely working-class backgrounds also claimed to participate, by degrees, in activities that were more-or-less competitive and recreational. That this was the case is clear from the comments of one group of males (School F) who reported participating in several activities that were pursued both competitively as part of a club and more recreationally (such as park football):

> A: I play tennis for the local club and do football on the park or astro after school.
> B: [Interrupts] I play football for a team and play kick-about in the park after school ... I go swimming as well every week at Everton sports centre.
> C: I do the same football-wise and I do athletics for a club every week.
> D: I'm a bit different to them – I do boxing for a club but I do do football on the park as well with them.
> E: I'm in a basketball team at a leisure centre and play football in the park with me mates.

F: I'm like (name); I do Sunday league football and just knock-about football after school or at weekends. That's it really.
G: [Interrupts] That's the same for me; well, for football anyway ... I do badminton up at Everton sports centre as well and snooker with me mates at the snooker club.

Notwithstanding the fact that males from all levels of the social hierarchy tended to be over-represented among participants who reported participating in sport and physical activity more competitively, this is not to say that young women were not involved at all. Indeed, as the following extract from a focus group conducted at School C indicates, young women did report participating competitively in a range of highly individualized activities too:

A: I do biathlon competitively for a club, which includes swimming for about 14 hours a week, so I don't really do anything else.
B: I spend about ten hours a week training and competing in ice-skating for a club and I go to the gym a couple of times a week to help me with that.
C: [Interrupts] I go to the gym as well but for me it's only usually once a week. I don't go as often as (name).
D: [Interrupts] I do a bit more than that; I go two or three times a week in the gym at school.
E: We go swimming and go to the gym once a week don't we?
F: Yeah, we usually go to Northgate Arena together.

In similar fashion, one group of young women from School F also reported that they participated competitively in sports such as dance, athletics and football, alongside more recreational forms of swimming, golf and visits to the gym:

A: We do dancing competitions and training don't we?
B: Yeah, we go dancing training for a club on Tuesday's and Thursday's and the competitions are at weekends.
C: I do athletics – hurdles mainly – for an athletics club in the week and do races at the weekend.
D: [Interrupts] I do dancing with (names), but I go to the gym and swim at Everton sports centre every week as well.
E: I'm into dance as well but I don't do competitions, I just go to dance and aerobics classes, things like that, at Everton.
F: We're different to those though aren't we?
G: Yeah.

F: I do trampolining.
G: [Interrupts] And I play football for Everton Ladies and golf in the park, just 'knocking about' in the park.

Although sport – and competitive team sport in particular – dominated the participatory profiles of some young people, as indicated by the survey data, a far more substantial proportion of them – both males and females from all social backgrounds – reported participating in highly-individualized lifestyle activities and team sports in a more recreational style. These points were brought out very clearly in a focus group with a group of males (School G) whose reported involvement centred around activities such as kick-about football, cycling and fishing:

A: I play football mainly – I used to play for a team but now it's just kick-about – and I do tennis at Wilmslow leisure centre every week. It's not for a club or anything; you just turn up and play when you can.
B: [Interrupts] That's the same for me; I do mess-about football and tennis as well – I do it with (name) – but I do lacrosse as well at a club down there (local leisure centre) and I go fishing when I can.
C: I just do kick-about football after-school and fishing on the canal on a Sunday when it's in season.
D: [Interrupts] Yeah, we play football together and running ... it used to be competitive when I played for the local town team but now it's more recreational; I prefer that now. You enjoy it more and you can do it when you want. And I go running in the week and play pool at the weekends.
E: I'm slightly different to you though aren't I? ... I go (quad bike) racing at the weekends and do British Championships quad biking, but I do play kick-about football with them (others in the group), although I'm not in any teams or nothing.
E: Nor me; I do kick-about football – I play that everyday – and I go cycling with (name).
F: Yeah, I do a lot of riding – mountain biking mainly. That's all I really do. I'm really into that.

Another group of males, who attended School A, also commented upon how their reported leisure-sport and physical activity involvement was more recreationally oriented in the following way:

A: I do archery and come down here (school) to do tennis and 'footy' on the astro ... and bowling nearly every weekend.
B: I do go-karting and bowling with him, and we play footy and golf on the field. But I do karate – not competitively or anything – at school one night a week.
C: [Interrupts] I do ten-pin bowling as well with them, and me and (name) go fishing down the canal, and play tennis and football on the astro when we want after school.
D: [Interrupts] That's the same for me but I do tai kwon too, and karate and boxing as well at a martial arts club.
E: And we'll do Roller-blading; we just turn up and do it when we want to really don't we, on the skate park?
F: Yeah.
G: I only really do kick about football with me mates mainly. That's it.

While the kinds of activities in which they were reportedly involved varied with those pursued by males, many young women who participated in sport and physical activity in their leisure time were also doing so on a more recreational basis. Indeed, the more informal recreational nature of young women's leisure involvement is particularly clear in the comments of one group of females who attended School E:

A: I play golf on the park mainly or just knocking a ball around on the school field.
B: [Interrupts] I don't, I go swimming at the leisure centre up the road at the weekend and do horse riding at the stable where I keep my horse on Tuesdays and Thursdays.
C: I play badminton with (name) and we go swimming on Saturdays up at the leisure centre in town don't we?
D: Yeah, it's usually once a week that we do badminton.
E: [Interrupts] And me; we go swimming together, but that's all I do really.
F: I go to the gym a lot straight after school every night; I go to the one in town 'cos it's close to where I live.
E: My dad takes me walking at the weekend as well sometimes
A: Yeah, I go on family walks too – up in the mountains – but only when the weather is nice.

The recreational nature of young women's sporting involvement is further illustrated by one group of females who attended School G at the time the focus groups was held:

A: I do shooting at Cadets twice a week and I run cross-country and go jogging with some of my friends in the week.
B: I don't really do any sport now; I'm not really interested in it.
C: [Interrupts] I don't really do proper sports, like team sports, but I do go bike riding and mountain biking, things like that ... they're the things I like more rather than netball and stuff like that.
D: Yeah, I'm not into team sports or things like that, I prefer individual things ... I ride my horse six days a week on the fields next to where I stable him and I do dance classes at the gym I go to once a week.
E: [Interrupts] I'm different to all of you though aren't I? I'll go sailing two or three times a week – mainly at the weekends – and I play on a ladies netball team in the week.

By contrast, those young women who attended schools that were located in areas with higher levels of deprivation and are attended by youngsters drawn from largely-working-class backgrounds were, somewhat unsurprisingly, reportedly involved in activities that are less stereotypically 'middle-class' in nature but which are sports that are often considered more-traditionally 'working-class' and 'masculine' in nature. That this is the case is clear from the following extract from a focus group conducted at School D:

A: I don't really do anything at the moment; I'm not really bothered about playing sport.
B: [Interrupts] Oh, I am. I do karate three times a week at the leisure centre in town.
C: And I do fitness in the gym here (at school) about twice a week after school or on the weekend.
D: [Interrupts] And I do. I use the gym here but mainly I play football three times a week and go on a run at least once a week next to where I live just to help my football.
E: I do football but it's not for a team or anything; it's just usually for a kick-about on the field but I do go to the gym and swimming in town twice a week.

Sex-, age- and school-related differences in young people's participation in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities

It is clear from the data presented above that young people's patterns, kinds and rates of participation in leisure-sport and physical activity are complex and diverse and, in that respect, the data do not support simplistic assumptions about, not only the kinds

of activities in which males and females are involved, but also the nature and form that participation takes. Data from the YPSAL questionnaire also revealed that in addition to the aforementioned differences in young people's levels and frequency of participation, further statistically significant sex-, age- and school-related differences were found in relation to participation in nine categories of leisure-sports and physical activities. These patterns are described below (see also, Tables E7-E13 in Appendix E).

Team sports

The relationship between reported participation in team sports in leisure and sex was highly significant (χ^2 =247.1, $p < .0005$), with females over three times more likely to report participating in no team sports in the past year and males were more than five times as likely than females to report doing so in 3-4 and 5 or more team sports (Table E7 in Appendix E). Similar proportions of both sexes reported participating in 1-2 team sports in the past year (Table E7 in Appendix E). No other significant differences were found for participation in team sports in leisure.

Partner sports

The relationship between reported participation in partner sports in leisure and sex was also significantly related (χ^2 =115.4, $p < .0005$). Females were more likely to report participating in no partner sports and males were over twice as likely to report doing 3-4 partner sports and three times as likely as females to have played 5 or more. Similar proportions of males and females reported playing 1-2 partner sports (Table E7 in Appendix E). Significant differences between reported participation in partner sports and the school that young people attended (χ^2 =37.3, $p < .005$) and, for females

only, between the school attended and sex (χ^2 =43.5, $p < .001$), were also observed. Males and females who attended Schools A, G and F, for example, were more likely to report being involved in no partner sports in leisure, while those from Schools B, C, D and G were more likely to have reported playing 5 or more (Table E8 in Appendix E). Those young people who attended Schools A and D were more likely to have reported doing 1-2 partner sports, and more males and females at Schools B, E and G claimed to participate in 3-4 of these kinds of activities (Table E8 in Appendix E). Over three-quarters of females who attended School F and half of those from Schools A and G, however, claimed to have participated in no partner sports in leisure, but half of young women who attended School D and four-fifths of those from Schools A and E reported playing 1-2 partner sports, and between 15% and 19% at Schools B, C and E were involved in 3-4 of these sports (Table E11 in Appendix E). There were also apparent – though not statistically significant – differences between participation in partner sports by 16-year-olds and the school attended (Table E13 in Appendix E). Those young people aged 16 who attended Schools A and F, for example, claimed to have not participated in partner sports, half of those from School D reported playing 1-2 of these sports, and one-third of those at School B and two-in-ten young people from School C reported participating in 3-4 and 5 or more partner sports respectively (Table E13 in Appendix E).

Athletic and gymnastic activities and health and fitness activities

No significant patterns were observed in relation to reported participation in athletic and gymnastic activities and health and fitness activities in leisure and sex, age or school.

Swimming and diving

No significant differences between reported participation in swimming and diving and age and sex were found. Those young people aged 15 who attended Schools D, F and G were, however, significantly more likely to report not participating in swimming and diving in their leisure (χ^2 =16.9, $p < .009$), while those youngsters from School B and E were more likely to report that they did so (Table E12 in Appendix E). There were also apparent – though not statistically significant – differences between reported participation in swimming and diving and the school that young people attended, with higher levels of participation reported by those attending Schools A and B (Table E9 in Appendix E).

Dance

The only reported significant difference for leisure participation in dance was that according to sex (χ^2 =124.1, $p < .0005$), where females were more likely than males to dance in their leisure time (Table E7 in Appendix E).

Outdoor and adventurous activities

The relationship between reported participation in OAA and sex, but not for age, was significant (χ^2 =18.2, $p < .0005$), with females more likely to report not being involved in any of these kinds of activities in their leisure time. Conversely, males were more likely to report participating in 1-2 OAA and equal proportions of both sexes claimed to be involved in 3-4 and 5-9 of these activities (Table E7 in Appendix E). Significant school-related differences in participation in OAA were also found (χ^2 =38.8, $p <$ .003), whereby those young people attending Schools D and F were most likely to report not participating in any OAA, those from Schools A and C were more likely to

claim to do 1-2 OAA and higher proportions of those at Schools B, C and E reported doing 3-4 leisure OAA (Table E9 in Appendix E). These school-related differences in participation in OAA were also highly significant among females (χ^2 =42.3, $p < .001$) and for 15-year-olds (χ^2 =36.8, $p < .006$). Females and those aged 15 who attended School F, for example, were more likely to report doing no OAA in their leisure, while those females and 15-year-olds attending Schools C and E were more likely to report participating in 1-2 and 3-4 of these activities (Table E11 in Appendix E). The 15-year-olds who attended School A were also more likely to report doing 1-2 OAA (Table E12 in Appendix E).

Combat sports and martial arts activities

With the exception of males who were significantly more likely to report participating in combat sports and martial arts activities in their leisure (χ^2 =16.2, $p < .0005$) (Table E7 in Appendix E) than females, no other participation-related differences were observed.

Ice-skating, roller-blading and skateboarding

Although the relationships between sex and age and participation in ice-skating, roller-blading and skateboarding were non-significant, significant differences were found between reported participation in these activities and the school that young people attended (χ^2 =25.4, $p < .0005$), with those attending Schools A, C and E more likely to report doing 1 or more of these activities, and those from Schools D and F were most likely to report not participating in either ice-skating, roller-blading or skateboarding (Table E9 in Appendix E). Significant differences were also found between the school attended and sex (for males only), with those males attending Schools C, D and F most likely to report not participating in any of these activities (χ^2

=23.1, $p < .001$) (Table E10 in Appendix E). Conversely, higher proportions of males from Schools A, B and E claimed to participate in ice-skating, roller-blading and skateboarding (Table E10 in Appendix E) than those from other schools. No other participation-related differences were observed.

The places where young people do sport and physical activity in their leisure

In both the questionnaire and focus groups, 15-16-year-olds were asked to identify those places in which they participate in leisure-sport and physical activity. It was apparent from the young people's responses that participation occurred in a variety of leisure contexts ranging from more structured and organized forms of participation (such as that involved with club-based sport), towards other less-structured (including park/street football and golf and youth clubs) and more commercially-oriented leisure provisions (such as the use of leisure centres, snooker/pool halls and mechanized fitness/health clubs) that are self-organized to a greater degree (Table 6.7). For example, over three-quarters of males who reported participating in sport or physical activity did so at a local park, street or playing field, sports/leisure centre and as members of a sports club or team, while two-thirds reported going swimming at a local leisure centre swimming pool and over one-half visited a gym/health club and a snooker/pool hall. Two-fifths of males also reported doing so at a youth club (42%) (Table 6.7).

Reflecting their lower levels of participation generally, females were less likely to report attending each of the locations identified in Table 6.7 compared to males. Nonetheless, two-thirds of females claimed to be regularly involved in sport and physical activity at a local park, street or playing field, leisure centre swimming pool

and leisure/sports centre, while six-in-ten reported playing as part of a sports club or team. Just under one-half also reported attending a gym/health club, and three-in-ten attended a youth club and snooker/pool hall. For both males and females, friends were reported as being those people with whom they were involved in sport and physical activity at each of these places. It was also apparent, however, that higher proportions of males also reported participating with younger and older brothers and with their father as well as their friends, whilst more females claimed to be involved in sport and physical activity with younger and older sisters and their mothers (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 Places and people with whom males and females most usually participate in sport and physical activity in leisure time (n and %)*

Location	Fellow Participants	Males	Females
Sports club/team	Friends only	212 (53.9)	138 (43.5)
	On own & friends	17 (4.3)	10 (3.2)
	Boy/ girlfriend & friends	8 (2.0)	9 (2.8)
	Sister & Friends	2 (0.5)	23 (7.3)
	Brother & friends	47 (12.0)	15 (3.8)
	Father & friends	35 (8.9)	4 (1.3)
	Brother, father & friends	17 (4.3)	5 (1.6)
Youth club	Friends only	155 (74.5)	113 (73.9)
Leisure/sports centre	Friends only	226 (59.2)	163 (47.2)
	On own	10 (2.6)	7 (2.0)
	On own & friends	23 (6.0)	11 (3.2)
	Sister & friends	2 (0.5)	20 (5.8)
	Brother & friends	32 (8.4)	8 (2.3)

Table 6.7 (cont.)

Location	Fellow Participants	Males	Females
Leisure/sports centre	Father & friends	22 (5.8)	5 (1.4)
	Mother & friends	1 (0.3)	15 (4.3)
Gym/health club	Friends only	179 (62.8)	121 (47.8)
	On own	19 (6.7)	13 (5.1)
	On own & friends	25 (8.8)	16 (6.3)
	Sister	1 (0.4)	9 (3.6)
	Sister & friends	0 (0.0)	16 (6.3)
	Mother & friends	14 (4.9)	2 (0.8)
	Mother	2 (0.7)	15 (5.9)
Leisure centre swimming pool	Friends only	202 (61.2)	157 (48.8)
	On own	12 (3.6)	6 (1.9)
	On own & friends	10 (3.0)	8 (2.5)
	Boy/ girlfriend & friends	3 (0.9)	14 (4.3)
	Sister & friends	3 (0.9)	24 (7.5)
	Brother & friends	25 (7.6)	3 (0.9)
	Mother & friends	1 (0.3)	6 (1.9)
Snooker/poolhall	Friends only	166 (57.8)	66 (46.5)
	Boy/ girlfriend & friends	3 (3.8)	13 (5.6)
	Brother	11 (1.0)	8 (9.2)
	Brother & friends	33 (11.5)	4 (2.8)
	Father & friends	22 (7.7)	4 (2.8)
Park, street, playing fields	Friends only	294 (70.5)	229 (64.7)
	Boy/ girlfriend & friends	9 (2.2)	38 (10.7)
	Sister & friends	3 (0.7)	21 (5.9)
	Brother & friends	52 (12.5)	9 (2.5)

*The percentages expressed are based on the number of young people who responded to this question and who indicated that they had visited each of the places listed.

The diversity of leisure contexts in which young people were involved in sport and physical activity was also articulated by the majority of those who participated in the focus groups, and is illustrated particularly clearly by the comments of one group of males (School G) who participated in both club-based and more self-organized recreational forms of sport and physical activity:

> A: We play our rugby up at the rugby club in town where our dads are members don't we?
> B: Yeah, and we play on the school fields as well don't we after school?
> C: [Interrupts] That's like us; we play club football as well just having a kick-about don't we? Just kicking about in the park.
> D: Yeah, most of us do.
> E: [Interrupts] We don't just play on the field though do we, we play in my garden as well don't we?
> F: Yeah, when we just fancy a kick-about.
> E: [Interrupts] I'd rather just play kick-about with friends rather than playing for a team now, there's less commitment that you've got to have.
> B: Yeah, like you can normally do it with just a couple of friends; you don't need to have lots of you like you do when you have a big match.

The tendency for some young people to combine participation in club-based sport that involves a stronger commitment on their part with more self-organized forms of activity, was also brought out in a focus group with one group of males who attended School D:

> A: During the week it's (football) knock-about, but at the weekend it's for a team; most of us play for the same team in a Sunday league.
> B: [Interrupts] Or we'll also play five-a-side on the astroturf after school with our mates won't we?
> C: Yeah, and if its knock-about footy we'll play by the doctor's as well. Wherever we can get without getting chucked off really.
> D: That's the same for golf as well isn't it? We'll play by the doctor's – on the same field – as we do for footy won't we when we just want to hit the ball around?
> E: [Interrupts] Me and (name) play on the golf course ... at the golf club we go to with our dads as well on the weekends don't we?
> F: [Interrupts] Yeah, 'cos we are really into golf rather than football ... We'll go with these (others in the group) when they're on the field knocking about but we're not in a club or anything like them.

These kinds of experiences were not confined to males, however. As the following extract taken from a focus group conducted at School E indicates, young women were inclined to combine participation in club-based sport with more self-organized forms of activity:

> A: I do my swimming at the local swimming pool up the road; it's good because it's a big pool and you can do proper swimming as well as going on the slides and stuff.
> B: [Interrupts] I don't. I come here (to school) to do my swimming with pupil 3 but I do do badminton with my sister at the leisure centre up by our house.
> C Yeah, we don't really travel very far do we for swimming, it's just here; it's easy to get to.
> D: I play golf with my dad and brother at the local golf club just down the road from our house and I use the gym here (at school) ... I walk through Snowdonia a lot with my family as well.
> E: I only really go horse riding where I keep my horses ... at the pony club. I go there when I can.

Another group of young women (School F) commented in a similar way upon how they often participated at locations that included sports and youth clubs and leisure centres as well as dance schools:

> A: We do our dancing at a dance school up in town that we've been going to for ages don't we?
> B: It's a dance club really isn't it? Where we train and they enter us for competitions that we do on the weekend at different dance clubs.
> A: Yeah.
> C: [Interrupts] My football's for a club – I play for Everton ladies – but when we do golf it is on just an ordinary course that you pay for every time you go.
> D: I play football at Everton town sports centre with a couple of friends and we do other things like badminton there as well. There's lots of stuff to do there.
> E: Our dance is at a youth club though isn't it? It's not like where (names) go?
> F: [Interrupts] Yeah, we dance at a youth club but we go to different places for festivals don't we ... the youth club arranges them for us. They're not competitions really, we just do it as part of the youth club.
> ...
> E: Normally they're usually just displays, competitions are like just once or twice a year.
> F: I go down to (club name) for athletics and I go down to Everton sports centre at the weekends as well for swimming.

In addition to sports and youth clubs, leisure centres and local parks, some young people who were drawn from largely working-class backgrounds also commented positively on the facilities that were available at the SSC which they attended (School F). Among other things, the fact that these schools were perceived to provide a wide range of relatively affordable – in comparison to other locally available leisure provisions – and conveniently located facilities appeared conducive to encouraging youngsters to participate in activities such as swimming, 5-a-side football, table-tennis and archery. One group of males (School A), for example, commented upon the benefit of 'extra facilities' as follows:

> A: Because we're a sports college we've got lots of extra facilities that we can use outside of school like the astro for 'footy' and we've got a swimming pool as well so we use that at the weekends.
> B: [Interrupts] There's more choice (of activities to do) as well.
> C: Yeah, you get more choice so you're going to do more aren't you?
> B: [Interrupts] So we do things like table-tennis that we otherwise wouldn't do; we (names) do that Thursday nights don't we?
> D: Yeah, and you're encouraged more (by our teachers) as well.
> E: The better the facilities are the more you want to go.
> ...
> B: Yeah, it's well good 'cos the pitch is better than the streets and ... you don't get chucked off by the pigs (police) when you play.
> A: And you can play with your mates when it's dark 'cos there's lights and everything.

Similar kinds of views were also expressed by a group of females at the same school in the following way:

> A: You can do stuff inside school that you don't do or can't do outside school like swimming. That's why I do it ... I don't think I'd do swimming if we didn't have one here (a pool at school). Well, I probably wouldn't do it as much anyway.
> B: [Interrupts] And it's cheaper as well isn't it? Cheaper than Everton anyway.
> C: That's why we come back to the Astroturf after school to play football ... a couple of times a week isn't it?
> D: Yeah, we can use it when you want as long as you book it in advance.
> E: Yeah, I usually come back on Saturday's for footy or swimming.

For those youngsters who attended this SSC, therefore, the provision of relatively cheap and conveniently located school-based sports facilities was positively associated with their participation in sports and physical activities that were loosely structured and organized. In a not dissimilar way, other youngsters from similar social backgrounds in the study commented upon how youth clubs were also key contexts for their leisure participation. When speaking of their involvement at their local youth club, one group of females (School B), for example, commented positively upon the context in which these activities were provided:

> A: When we go to the youth club, which has got an activity centre, we do hockey, netball, football and badminton and yoga; stuff like that that we can do and what we like.
> B: I do that as well; a few of the other girls do as well. We have a laugh don't we? And it's not that expensive.
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, and 'cos we get to pick what we want to do and they [the youth club organizers] will sort it out and let us do it.
> D: [Interrupts] And there's a pool table that we can play on with the boys; it's not like in the pub when you have to pay, you can just keep playing and there's music on as well.
> E: It's just like hanging around and socializing with your mates and you can play sport as well when you want, but you haven't got to; it's not that serious.

The central value that was placed upon the social nature of youth clubs as leisure contexts in which sport and physical activity can be pursued more recreationally, is also clear from the comments of one group of males who attended School B:

> A: We can play pool at the 'youthy'; it's well good 'cos there's lots of tables and we can have competitions and that.
> B: [Interrupts] And we play badminton don't we? They have all the nets and courts and rackets and that – what you have to pay for at (name) sports centre.
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's cheaper at the 'youthy' so we go there don't we?
> D: Yeah, and you can play when you want to; you don't have to play a full match.
> E: That's like squash; we do that there as well and you can swap over when you want to. Lot's of people like that, squash.
> F: [Interrupts] Don't forget footy, we do that as well, but not a big match or anything.
> A: Yeah, it's just 5-a-side on like a sports hall pitch really.

B: [Interrupts] And we just sit around socializing as well won't we?
[Group: Yeah]
E: Yeah, just listening to music and chatting.

It should be noted, however, that while youngsters from largely working-class backgrounds tended to be the most regular participants at youth clubs, those from higher up the social hierarchy were overly-represented among participants at fee-paying commercially-oriented gymnasia/health clubs such as Fitness First and Total Fitness. That this is the case is clear from the following extract from an focus group conducted at School C with a group of young men:

A: We go to the gym in Chester don't we? Quite a few of us go there.
B: It's a commercial gym isn't it?
C: Yeah, it's Total Fitness. We pay something like ... 15 or 20 quid a month isn't it?
D: [Interrupts] Yeah, It's worth it though 'cos they have got lots of facilities like treadmills, steppers and you can use the swimming pool as well if you want.
B: They're a lot better than the one's at our (school) leisure centre aren't they? They're more modern and up-to-date.
C: And they work!
E: And the swimming pool's bigger isn't it? ... You can do proper lengths there.

Attending commercialized leisure provisions of this kind was also reportedly popular among young women who attended School G:

A: I go to a gym in town; my mom, dad and sister go there as well so we get a family pass.
B: [Interrupts] We go to the gym a couple of times a week as well don't we?
C: Yeah, but we don't go to the same though do we? We go to Fitness First; you can get a pass – a year pass – where you pay £15 a month and you can use it as much as you want.
D: That's where I go to but I don't go with you do I? I go with my sister 'cos we have dance the nights you go.
E: I don't go to Fitness First or anything like that; I just use the one at Wilmslow sports centre where I go for badminton with my mates.

By contrast, for other young people, among other things, stronger financial constraints meant that they did not visit commercial fee-paying gymnasia/fitness clubs. As one group of young women (School A) expressed it:

> A: I mainly go to the gym now and do workouts at Fitness First; you can do yoga and aerobics classes, stuff like that there as well.
> B: I don't go (to the gym) because it's too expensive there; it's about three hundred quid for a year.
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, that's why I don't go. I can't afford the twenty quid or whatever it is you've got to pay every month.
> D: If there was a gym that wasn't too expensive a lot of people would go from round here I think.

For one group of males who attended School D, these financial constraints, together with age-related constraints and those imposed upon them by the closure of their former school which contained a leisure centre that was free to use by pupils, limited the extent to which they used commercial leisure provisions of this kind:

> A: There is a Fitness First what we can go to but you've got to be 16 to join so they won't let us in.
> B: [Interrupts] And it's sixty quid for six months anyway so we couldn't afford that.
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's like us: we're old enough but it's too dear so we don't go.
> D: [Interrupts] It's a rip off.
> E: Yeah, it's too expensive.
> D: They shouldn't have got rid of [the leisure centre next to their former school which has since been closed] ... that was 'boss' [good].
> F: [Interrupts] We used to go to the gym and get in free at (name), but now we can't do that.
> G: It's crap now. They charge us more now [at the leisure centre linked to the school] and you've got to be 16.
> A: [Interrupts] And even if we do go in as a gang of lads they just throw you out anyway. They don't trust us, so they don't let us in.
> F: Or even if you just go and hang around the streets to play instead the police just stop you.
> B: But you have to pay 24 quid for the astroturf so we have to do it in the streets.
> D: We should have five-a-side nights for an hour or something on the Astroturf.
> F: [Interrupts] As long as it's free.
> A: Yeah, and the gym should be free as well so we can use it.

E: That's the same for pool as well. In (name) they used to have a bar where there was a snooker and pool table where we used to go and play.

In this regard, the data presented above indicated that the young people in this study participated in a variety of places, and while structured club-sport was popular among some youngsters, many often favoured those contexts in which sporting and physical activities were loosely structured and largely self-organized. There were, however, clear class-related differences in their use of leisure provisions such as youth clubs and park/street-based sport, which were more attractive to working-class young people, and fee-paying gymnasia and fitness clubs which were attended by young people from more middle class backgrounds. But what were the main reasons why young people participate in the kinds of activities in which they were involved at the time of the study?

Main reasons for participating in sport and physical activity in leisure

When questioned about some of their primary motivations for participating in sport and physical activity in leisure, over nine-in-ten males and females agreed that they currently did so because they 'enjoyed it' and in order to 'improve their health and keep fit'. The sociability that is often recurrently generated by participating with friends in sporting contexts was also suggested by the youngsters in the present study as an important motivation, with nine-in-ten males and just under four-fifths of females agreeing that they do sport and physical activity 'to be with their friends' (Table 6.8). Just over three-quarters of males and two-thirds of females also reported that they participated in sport and physical activity because they were 'good at it', while similar proportions of youngsters reported doing so in order to help 'improve their performance' in those activities in which they were currently involved. Two-

thirds of males and four-fifths of females suggested that they did so because they liked 'competition' and young women were more likely to agree that 'improving their body and appearance' was an important reason why they currently participated. The opportunity to 'relax/relieve stress', which was reported by one-half of males and females, and being with members of one's own family that was reported by three-in-ten males and females were less commonly reported reasons for participating (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Main reasons for participating in leisure sport and physical activity (n and %) by sex

Reason	Agree Males	Disagree Males	Agree Females	Disagree Females
Enjoy it	454	18	393	32
	(96.2)	(3.8)	(92.5)	(7.5)
Good at	369	103	281	144
	(78.2)	(21.8)	(66.1)	(33.9)
Like competition	317	155	191	234
	(67.2)	(32.8)	(44.9)	(55.1)
Improve health / keep fit	432	40	389	36
	(91.5)	(8.5)	(91.5)	(8.5)
To relax / relieve stress	244	222	230	195
	(51.7)	(47.0)	(54.1)	(45.9)
Improve performance	360	112	290	135
	(76.3)	(23.7)	(68.2)	(31.8)
Improve appearance / body	343	129	345	80
	(72.7)	(27.3)	(81.2)	(18.8)
Be with friends	421	51	336	89
	(89.2)	(10.8)	(79.1)	(20.9)
Be with family	143	329	129	296
	(30.3)	(69.7)	(30.4)	(69.6)
Total	472	472	425	425

When asked about the reasons why they did not participate *at all* or in more sport and physical activity in their leisure time (Table 6.9), three-quarters of males and females indicated that they 'preferred to do other things' with their leisure time, while two-fifths of females and one-quarter of males claimed that they were 'not good' at sport and physical activity. Just under one-half of females and one-third of males reported that they were 'not interested' in participating at all or more than they were at the time

of completing the questionnaire. A dislike of 'playing in bad weather' was also cited by twice as many females (44%) than males (20%), and young women (37%) were also twice as likely as young men (16%) to agree that they felt 'embarrassed' when doing sport and physical activity (Table 6.9).

A further under two-fifths of males and females suggested they 'did not have enough time' to participate more or at all and approximately one-third of both sexes claimed that the extent to which they participated, if at all, was limited by the fact that the 'facilities are too far away' or because of 'personal health/medical reasons' (Table 6.9). The ability to travel to facilities to do sport and physical activity (25% males; 31% females) as well as being able to afford to do so (17% males; 26% females) were also reported to impact upon the participation levels of some young people; similar proportions of youngsters also agreed that they did not do more sport or physical activity or any at all because none of their friends (21% males; 35% females) or family (18% males; 21% females) did so (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Main reasons for not participating in more or any sport and physical activity in leisure (n and %)

Reason	Agree Males	Disagree Males	Agree Females	Disagree Females
Health / medical reasons	150 (30.2)	347 (69.8)	187 (36.5)	326 (63.5)
Don't have enough time	186 (37.4)	311 (62.6)	197 (38.4)	216 (42.1)
Can't afford it	86 (17.3)	411 (82.7)	133 (25.9)	380 (74.1)
Not interested in it	170 (34.2)	327 (65.8)	242 (47.2)	271 (52.8)
Not good at it	124 (24.9)	373 (75.1)	211 (41.1)	302 (58.9)
Don't like getting hot & sweaty	52 (10.5)	445 (89.5)	147 (28.7)	366 (71.3)
Don't like competition	65 (13.1)	432 (86.9)	94 (18.3)	418 (81.5)
Might get hurt	59 (11.9)	438 (88.1)	94 (18.3)	418 (81.5)
Don't like playing in bad weather	98 (19.7)	379 (76.3)	228 (44.4)	285 (55.6)
Get embarrassed	72 (14.5)	425 (85.5)	187 (36.5)	326 (63.5)
Prefer to do other things	371 (74.6)	126 (25.4)	404 (78.8)	109 (21.2)
Facilities are too far away	152 (30.6)	345 (69.4)	162 (31.6)	351 (68.4)
Don't have any transport	122 (24.5)	375 (75.5)	157 (30.6)	356 (69.4)
Friends don't do any	104 (20.9)	393 (79.1)	180 (35.1)	333 (64.9)
Family don't do any	90 (18.1)	407 (81.9)	110 (21.4)	413 (80.5)
Family don't encourage me	86 (17.3)	411 (82.7)	102 (19.9)	411 (80.1)
Total	497	497	513	513

Why young people do and do not participate in sport and physical activity in their leisure time was also identifiable from the focus groups. A central theme of all of young people's responses was the fact that sport and physical activity were viewed as social enclaves that generated opportunities to socialize with and enjoy the company of friends in activities and situations of their own choosing. When asked to outline the reasons why they participated in sport and activity in their leisure time, one group of males who attended School E explained the value they placed upon the 'social side of sport' as follows:

A: It's the social side of sport that I really like and why I do things like football really, I'm not really bothered about competition. Playing with your mates and having a laugh, that's the most important thing.
B: It's like rugby as well, the enjoyment of rugby gets you in to the social side of sport ... but I like the competitive, contact side of sport too.
C: Yeah, sport's something that's fun and you enjoy doing; it's something to do really as well as helping you to keep fit.
D: I go (running) just to keep up my fitness though; I'm not really bothered about being in a team or anything.
E: The things I do (badminton and canoeing) are not particularly competitive; we just do them for fun don't we?
F: Yeah, it's just for fun outdoors and helping with fitness.

The central value that was placed upon the social nature of the sports and physical activities in which they were involved was also brought out clearly in another focus group with a group of males (School D) who spoke positively of 'having a laugh with mates' whilst participating in leisure:

A: It's about having a laugh when you just have a kick-about. It's better that way and you enjoy it more, instead of doing crap like doing football for a team when its really competitive and dead serious.
B: [Interrupts] It's all about having a laugh isn't it and being out with the lads? Just having a kick-about with your mates; that's a lot better than getting a lecture every time you lose, like we used to.
C: You're playing with your mates now and it's not so serious.
D: Playing football.
E: We still like football though – we're not poofs or anything.
[Group laughs]
C: We just play with our mates and have a laugh, that's the most important thing when you're playing now.
E: [Interrupts] It don't matter whether you're playing football or not though, all sport is about playing with your mates.
F: It's like for me; playing rugby up on the park is all about being with me mates and having a laugh ... just playing rugby that you like.

The following extract from a focus group with a group of females who attended School G further illustrates the general acceptance that having fun whilst in the company of friends was an important motivation for participating in sport and physical activity in leisure:

A: I do dance for the competitions mainly, but running is more for the fun of it and to helping with my fitness really.
B: [Interrupts] It's different for me though, I do my dancing for a hobby, for something to do that's fun and what I can do with my friends.
C: Yeah, it's the same for me; I just do it for a hobby and to be with friends but I also do it because I want to progress and get better as well as having fun.
D: For me I go to the gym 'cos it's fun and 'cos I can do it with my friends; it's not competitive or anything like that, we just do it together.
E: I just love my horse, that's the main reason for me. I do compete with the horse but it's a social thing as well; there's quite a few of my friends who do it.

Although participating with friends was of obvious concern fort almost all young people, doing sport and physical activity with a female friend was of particular importance for many young women, not least because it helped to provide them with emotional support (for example, when coping with feelings of embarrassment) when seeking to achieve personal objectives related to health and fitness. As one group of young women (School F) described it:

A: You don't worry as much, do you, about what you look like ... or your weight when you do sport with your friends.
B: Yeah, they (friends) often go for the same reasons as us such as losing weight and enjoying yourself.
C: [Interrupts] I think that when you get to our Year (11) you start getting more conscious about what you look like and instead of doing sports you got to the gym more than things like hockey and netball. In the gym you know what muscles you're working and you can see what calories you've worked off; that way you know how well you've done.
D: Yeah, if I didn't think that I had to go ... to keep fit and be with friends then I wouldn't bother going I don't think.
E: It's the same for social swimming for girls; they go with their friends because they can worry what they look like in front of other people.

These kinds of views and experiences were echoed in the comments of another group of young women who attended School C:

A: I reckon lots of girls are like us who do stuff like gym and swimming 'cos they can do what they want and just be with girls.
B: [Interrupts] And because they're the kinds of things that can get you healthy 'cos girls are more conscious about their weight aren't they? That's why we try to do sport together.

C: In girls the issue is huge; it's a big worry your health and that.
D: [Interrupts] Because you see all these things that come up on the tele telling us that we're all getting fat because of all the stuff you're eating and 'cos we don't do know exercise and sport.
E: [Interrupts] Yeah, so lots of girls are getting obsessed about that, getting fat, so they don't eat that much, and some of them, like us, get in the gym do swims to try and stop it.
F: Yeah, and sometimes lads can put you down can't they, about getting fat, and your looks.
A: And sometimes it can make girls more determined to do sport and get healthier.
C: [Interrupts] It's not just about getting into sport though; it makes you watch what you eat as well.

Despite the general acceptance among young women that sport and physical activity was important because it helped to manage their concerns about body image, but particularly their perceived body weight and fatness, many of them claimed that they participated less frequently compared to young males. Indeed, for both young men and women this was because the former are more likely than the latter to be 'more interested' in and 'more committed' to doing so. The perceived centrality of sport to young men's lives was evident in the comments of one group of males (School E) who had this to say when comparing their own participatory tendencies with those of young women:

A: I'd say we're more committed to do more sport than the girls, whereas they'd rather just sit around or not really do nothing much; or as much as us anyway.
B: [Interrupts] They don't see it as important as us do they?
C: They can't be bothered to do as much sport as us can they? They do do some but it's not as much as us.
D: They probably don't usually take it as seriously as us do they?
E: [Interrupts] Most of them do do sport though.
F: [Interrupts] Yeah, they do but sometimes they just can't be bothered
...
AS: How do you form that impression?
A: We compare them to ourselves.
C: [Interrupts] It's like at the end of an hour of exercise (in PE) you'll be fine and just walking around whereas they'll be pouring of sweat.
B: [Interrupts] Out of breath!

D: You can see how determined they are, it's like when we're doing cross-country they'll just start walking half way round.
A: [Interrupts] They just give up pretty much straight away.
E: And they tell us as well don't they? That they're not as interested or as bothered about it (sport)?
F: Some like it and do it but it's not as many as for the boys is it?

One group of males who attended School C suggested in a similar manner that 'more boys do exercise in general' compared to young women of the same age:

A: I don't think they do that much sport really.
B: [Interrupts] I'd say they do hardly anything or nothing.
C: [Interrupts] No that's not right; they do do stuff and they're interested but it's just stuff like swimming and the gym what they do isn't it? They don't do as much stuff like football or team sports?
D: Yeah, some like swimming, and there's one girl who plays football for England.
B: [Interrupts] I'd say that. For the majority though, if they're doing anything, it's probably things like running or going to the gym or something like swimming that they do.
E: They don't tend to do PE like last year (team games). They don't tend to do the same things as lads do; they do things on their own more, whereas if it's like lads they do team stuff.
A: I think more boys do exercise in general.
E: Yeah, boys do more exercise, definitely.
A: [Interrupts] And girls tend to eat more consciously in general and are less into sport.
E: A lot more of the boys are more interested than the girls in sport.
D: [Interrupts] Yeah, the girls tend to concentrate more on their work!

Based on what they perceived to be as the interest of males in football in particular, one group of females who attended School D concluded in a similar manner that 'lads are more sportier than girls'. As they expressed it:

A: I think that the lads are more sportier than girls aren't they?
Group: Yeah, definitely.
AS: Why?
B: 'Cos they have football don't they? They're playing that all the time. Loads do that.
C: [Interrupts] Yeah, 'cos they've got to go footy training and stuff all the time.
D: [Interrupts] And 'cos they're more committed to sport aren't they? They like it more than us?
E: Yeah, 'cos football's a lads thing isn't it? They do it for ages.

C: [Interrupts] Sports is a lad's thing really isn't it? I think that it's 'cos they play football and everything.
D: [Interrupts] And when they've got nothing to do on a Saturday or at the weekend the first thing they does is go for a game of footy or do sport, whereas we won't always do that will we?
A: No, we do do sport but we like to do other things more sometimes don't we? It's not all sport, sport, sport like most of the lads.

Similar views were also expressed by a group of females (School D) in the following way:

A: The lads like sport a lot more than us don't they?
B: [Interrupts] They're always playing football or doing something like that.
C: Yeah, they're always doing that rather than just walking round like us.
D: It's not just the playing though is it? Lots of the lads read and watch sport as well don't they?
E: [Interrupts] They're just more interested aren't they?
A: We're interested and we do do sport and stuff but not as much as the lads.

Conclusion

By drawing upon data from the questionnaires and focus groups, this chapter has examined 15-16-year-olds' participation in leisure-sport and physical activity. In doing so, the data indicated that although there were no significant school- or age-related differences in participation overall, more males than females participated in sport and physical activity in their leisure time. Males were also the more frequent weekly participants and spent more time doing so than females. The data also revealed that the 15-16-year-olds' leisure-sport and physical activity repertoires or portfolios incorporated a blend of small number of competitive team sports alongside several more informally organized sports (such as kick-about and 5-a-side football) and highly-individualized recreational 'lifestyle activities'. Furthermore, leisure-sport and physical activity was viewed as providing social enclaves that generated opportunities to socialize with and enjoy the company of friends in activities and situations that young people themselves had chosen. In the light of these data, the next

chapter outlines young people's participation in and use of non-sporting uses of leisure and, in particular, their use of media-oriented leisure, commercialized leisure provisions and the consumption of legal and illegal drugs.

Chapter Seven

Young People's Use of Media-Oriented Leisure and Commercial Leisure Provisions

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity during their leisure time. This chapter will examine their involvement in those elements of leisure that are often presented as being in some way polar opposites or in contradistinction to more active uses of leisure. In this regard, the chapter will analyze data related to the young people's use of media-oriented leisure (such as watching TV, using computers and listening to music) and commercial leisure provisions (such as going to parties and pubs/bars, the cinema and shopping). In addition, the chapter will consider the young people's employment status and the kinds of jobs in which they were employed, their expenditure on various forms of commercialized leisure goods, and their consumption of legal and illegal drugs.

Young people's use of media-oriented forms of leisure

TV viewing

Watching TV was a sex- and age-independent leisure activity that was popular among all young people in the study, with 15-16-year-olds spending three hours on average watching TV at home after school (Monday-Friday), and approximately four hours each day at the weekend (Saturday and Sunday). Whilst less than one-in-ten males and females reported spending no time or less than 1 hour each day watching TV after school, approximately one-quarter of both sexes reported spending 4-6 hours doing so, and just under one-in-ten males and one-in-twenty females claimed to spend 7

hours or more doing so on a school day evening (Table 7.1). The time 15-16-year-olds reported allocating to watching TV increased at weekends, with two-fifths of both sexes reporting that they spent 4-6 hours doing so, and a further one-third of males and three-in-ten females reported allocating 7 or more hours to watching TV at weekends (Table 7.2).

Table 7.1 Time spent (n and %) watching TV after school (Monday-Friday) by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Males	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds	Total Females
No time at all	1 (0.3)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.4)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.2)
Less than 1 hr	23 (8.0)	9 (4.3)	32 (6.4)	33 (10.4)	8 (4.1)	41 (8.0)
1-3 hrs	151 (52.6)	128 (61.0)	27.9 (56.1)	181 (57.3)	129 (65.5)	310 (60.4)
4-6 hrs	80 (27.9)	59 (28.1)	139 (28.0)	88 (27.8)	48 (24.4)	136 (26.5)
7 hrs or more	32 (11.1)	13 (6.2)	45 (9.1)	13 (4.1)	12 (6.1)	25 (4.9)
Total	287	210	497	316	197	513

Table 7.2 Time spent (n and %) watching TV at the weekend (Saturday-Sunday) by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Males	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds	Total Females
No time at all	1 (0.3)	2 (1.0)	3 (0.6)	2 (0.6)	1 (0.5)	3 (0.6)
Less than 1 hr	7 (2.4)	4 (1.9)	11 (2.2)	13 (4.1)	6 (3.0)	19 (3.7)
1-3 hrs	56 (19.5)	41 (19.5)	97 (19.5)	90 (28.5)	47 (23.6)	137 (26.7)
4-6 hrs	108 (37.6)	98 (46.7)	206 (41.4)	118 (37.3)	81 (41.1)	199 (38.8)
7-9 hrs	65 (22.6)	41 (19.5)	106 (21.3)	50 (15.8)	39 (19.8)	89 (17.3)
10-12 hrs	26 (9.1)	12 (5.7)	38 (7.6)	28 (8.9)	15 (7.6)	43 (8.4)
13-15 hrs	13 (4.5)	5 (2.4)	18 (3.6)	9 (2.8)	3 (1.5)	12 (2.3)
16 hrs or more	11 (3.8)	7 (3.3)	18 (3.6)	6 (1.9)	5 (2.5)	11 (2.1)
Total	287	210	497	316	197	513

Focusing on how much time was reported watching live sport, Table 7.3 indicates that many more males than females reported watching live professional sport on TV each week and claimed to spend more time when doing so. The median number of hours spent by males was three; 15- and 16-year-old females, by contrast, spent one and two hours, respectively, doing so. Females, however, were more than three times as likely as males to report spending no time at all watching live sport each week, and were approximately twice more likely than males to report that they spent less than 1 hour doing so (Table 7.3). By contrast, males were twice more likely than females to have reported spending 1-3 hours watching live sport each week, and were four times more likely to have reported that they spent 4-6 hours doing so. Very few males and females reported spending 10 hours or more watching live sport in their leisure time (Table 7.3).

As Table 7.4 indicates, males were more likely than females to report watching live televised sport on their own or with friends in the parental home each week in their leisure time, whilst more females reported doing so with their mother, father, brother and sister. Equal proportions of both sexes claimed to do so with other relatives (Table 7.4).

Table 7.3 Time spent (n and %) watching live professional sport on TV each week by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Males	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds	Total Females
No time at all	41 (14.3)	33 (15.7)	74 (14.9)	177 (56.0)	92 (46.7)	269 (52.4)
Less than 1 hr	36 (12.5)	24 (11.4)	60 (12.1)	69 (21.8)	43 (21.8)	112 (21.8)
1-3 hrs	104 (36.2)	76 (36.2)	180 (36.2)	44 (13.9)	48 (24.4)	92 (17.9)
4-6 hrs	69 (24.0)	48 (22.9)	117 (23.5)	19 (6.0)	10 (5.1)	29 (5.7)
7-9 hrs	20 (7.0)	15 (7.1)	35 (7.0)	6 (1.9)	4 (2.0)	10 (1.9)
10-12 hrs	12 (4.2)	7 (3.3)	19 (3.8)	1 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.2)
13-15 hrs	2 (0.7)	2 (1.0)	4 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
16 hrs or more	3 (1.0)	5 (2.4)	8 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Total	287	210	497	316	197	513

Table 7.4 With whom young people usually watched live professional sport on TV at home each week (n and %) by sex and age*

With whom	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
My own	253 (59.8)	149 (60.6)	104 (58.8)	96 (39.3)	55 (39.6)	41 (40.2)
Friends	54 (12.8)	34 (13.8)	20 (11.3)	19 (7.8)	17 (12.2)	2 (20.0)
Mother	129 (30.5)	79 (32.1)	50 (28.2)	92 (37.7)	59 (42.4)	33 (32.4)
Father	189 (44.7)	100 (40.7)	89 (50.3)	126 (51.6)	66 (47.5)	60 (58.8)
Brother	108 (25.5)	74 (30.1)	34 (19.2)	70 (28.7)	43 (30.9)	27 (26.5)
Sister	61 (14.4)	36 (14.6)	25 (14.1)	48 (19.7)	28 (20.1)	20 (19.6)
Other relatives	62 (14.7)	33 (13.4)	29 (16.4)	33 (13.5)	23 (16.5)	10 (9.8)
Total	423	246	177	244	139	102

* Only those young people who watched live professional sport are included

Watching live sport with friends in other settings was also said to be common among a smaller minority of youngsters, with slightly more females than males reporting they

did so with their friends at their 'friend's home' (Table 7.5). Twice as many males than females claimed to so at the 'parental home' and 'friend's home', as well as the 'parental home', 'friend's home' and 'the pub', and similar proportions of both sexes reported doing so at 'the pub' (8% males; 6% females) (Table 7.5). Similarly, the 'parental home' and 'the pub' together were two places where a minority of males and females also reported watching live sport with their father (10% and 8%, respectively), brother (5% and 3%, respectively) and other relatives (4% and 2%, respectively), while an even smaller number of males and females did so with their father (5% and 4%, respectively) and other relatives (6% and 3%, respectively) at 'the pub' only. Similar proportions of youngsters reported doing so with a boy/girlfriend at their 'boy/girlfriend's house' (3% males; 8% females).

Table 7.5 Where young people usually watched live professional sport on TV with friends only each week (n and %) by sex and age *

Place	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
My Home	54 (12.7)	34 (13.8)	20 (11.3)	19 (7.8)	17 (12.2)	2 (2.0)
My home & friend's home	62 (17.5)	28 (11.4)	34 (19.2)	21 (8.6)	14 (10.1)	7 (6.9)
My home, friend's home & pub	46 (14.7)	21 (8.5)	25 (14.1)	14 (5.7)	7 (5.0)	7 (6.9)
Friend's home	74 (10.9)	42 (17.1)	32 (18.1)	35 (14.3)	21 (15.1)	14 (13.7)
Friend's home & pub	15 (3.5)	7 (2.8)	8 (4.5)	8 (3.3)	4 (2.9)	4 (3.9)
Pub	33 (7.8)	26 (10.6)	7 (4.0)	14 (5.7)	9 (6.5)	5 (4.9)
Total	423	246	177	244	139	102

* Only those young people who watched live professional sport are included

Table 7.6 indicates that watching highlights programmes of sports (such as *Match of the Day*) at the parental home was also reported as being a popular leisure activity among young people, with more males than females claiming to do so on their own,

and equal proportions of both sexes reported that they did so with their father. More females than males reported watching highlights programmes with mothers and sisters, slightly more males than females reported doing so with brothers, and twice as many males than females claimed to do so with other relatives (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6 With whom young people usually watch highlights of professional sport on TV at home each week (n and %) by sex and age *

With whom	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
My own	287	171	116	79	44	35
	(67.8)	(69.5)	(65.5)	(32.4)	(31.7)	(34.3)
Friends	56	35	21	16	10	6
	(13.2)	(14.2)	(11.9)	(6.6)	(7.2)	(5.9)
Mother	88	57	31	62	33	29
	(20.8)	(23.2)	(17.5)	(25.4)	(23.7)	(28.4)
Father	189	106	83	107	55	52
	(44.7)	(43.1)	(46.9)	(43.9)	(39.6)	(51.0)
Brother	105	66	39	55	34	21
	(24.8)	(26.8)	(22.0)	(22.5)	(24.5)	(20.6)
Sister	37	26	11	28	16	12
	(8.7)	(10.6)	(6.2)	(11.5)	(11.5)	(11.8)
Other relatives	49	25	24	15	12	3
	(11.6)	(10.2)	(13.6)	(6.1)	(8.6)	(2.9)
Total	423	246	177	244	139	102

* Only those young people who watched professional sport are included

Table 7.7 shows that some youngsters also reported watching highlights of sports events with friends only, with approximately twice as many males than females claiming to do so at the 'parental home', whilst more males than females reported watching highlights programmes at their 'friend's home'. Slightly more females reported watching highlights programmes at the 'parental home' and 'friend's home', and higher proportions of males than females reported doing so at the 'parental home', 'friend's home' and 'the pub' (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Where young people usually watch highlights of professional sport on TV with friends only each week (n and %) by sex and age *

Place	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
My Home	56 (13.2)	35 (14.2)	21 (11.9)	16 (6.6)	10 (7.2)	6 (5.9)
My home & friend's home	81 (5.2)	31 (12.6)	50 (28.2)	20 (8.2)	14 (10.1)	6 (5.9)
My home, friend's home & pub	22 (10.4)	11 (4.5)	11 (6.2)	3 (1.2)	1 (0.7)	2 (2.0)
Friend's home	44 (10.4)	26 (10.6)	18 (10.2)	17 (7.0)	11 (7.9)	6 (5.9)
Total	423	246	177	244	139	102

* Only those young people who watched professional sport are included

Computer use for video games, the Internet and email

In this study, males were more likely than females to report using computers for playing video games, searching the Internet and for checking email, and claimed to spend more time when doing so on a school day and at the weekend. Overall, males and females aged 15 and 16 allocated 3 hours and 2.5 hours (respectively) on average to non-school related computer use on a school day (Table 7.8). While the proportion of 15-16-year-olds who reported spending no time at all playing computer games or using the Internet and email increased slightly at weekends, the overall time allocated to non-school related computer use by males and females also increased on Saturdays and Sundays (Table 7.9). In this regard, males reported spending a median number of 3.5 hours (3.8 hours for 15-year-olds; 3.5 hours for 16-year-olds) playing computer games or using computers for the Internet and email for things other than homework, with females doing so for just over 2.5 hours (2.7 hours for 15-year-olds; 2.8 hours for 16-year-olds) (Table 7.9).

Table 7.8 Average time spent (n and %) playing computer games, using the Internet and email for things beyond homework on a school day evening (Monday-Friday) by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
No time at	28	15	13	87	53	34
all	(5.6)	(5.2)	(6.2)	(17.0)	(16.8)	(17.3)
Less than 1	98	57	41	159	105	54
hr	(19.7)	(19.9)	(19.5)	(31.0)	(33.2)	(27.4)
1-3	217	126	91	186	114	72
	(43.7)	(43.9)	(43.3)	(36.3)	(36.1)	(36.5)
4-6	97	57	40	59	31	28
	(19.5)	(19.9)	(19.0)	(11.5)	(9.8)	(14.2)
7 hrs or	57	32	25	22	13	9
more	(11.5)	(11.1)	(11.9)	(4.3)	(4.1)	(4.6)
Total	497	287	210	513	316	197

Table 7.9 Average time spent (n and %) playing computer games, using the Internet and email for things beyond homework on weekend days (Saturday-Sunday) by sex and age

Time (hours)	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
No time at	34	17	17	112	72	40
all	(6.8)	(5.9)	(8.1)	(21.8)	(22.8)	(20.3)
Less than 1	51	25	26	118	77	41
hr	(10.3)	(8.7)	(12.4)	(23.0)	(24.4)	(20.8)
1-3	164	97	67	163	102	61
	(33.0)	(33.8)	(31.9)	(31.8)	(32.3)	(31.0)
4-6	124	73	51	74	38	36
	(24.9)	(25.4)	(24.3)	(14.4)	(12.0)	(18.3)
7-9	69	40	29	24	12	12
	(13.9)	(13.9)	(13.8)	(4.7)	(3.8)	(6.1)
10-12	20	11	9	15	11	4
	(4.0)	(3.8)	(4.3)	(2.9)	(3.5)	(2.0)
13 or more	35	24	11	7	4	3
	(7.0)	(8.4)	(5.2)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.5)
Total	497	287	210	513	316	197

Other uses of leisure

Listening to music at home was a near-universal leisure activity among 15-16-year-olds, with just under three-quarters of males and four-fifths of females reportedly doing so every day, and approximately one-in-ten of both sexes listening to music 4-6 times per week (Table F1 in Appendix F). Indeed, listening to music was often

reported as being something that provided the back-drop to a range of other home-centred activities such as doing homework and reading books/magazines, both of which were reported as being done more frequently by females, and learning/playing an instrument, which was more attractive to males (Table F1 in Appendix F). The variety of ways in which music was integrated into the privatized home-centred lives of young people was also brought out in the focus groups. As the following extract from a focus group conducted with a group of young women at School F indicates, listening to music often accompanied other activities such as doing homework and 'getting ready to go out':

> A: I love listening to music; I listen to it all the time. I usually have it on when I get in (from school) and when I'm doing my homework 'cos it doesn't distract me from my work as much.
> B: And when I'm getting ready to go out to the pub or something, that's when I listen to mine a lot, but I listen when I'm on with my work as well.
> C: [Interrupts] I do, I'm always listening to music ... I listen to most things really it depends on what mood I'm in.
> D: [Interrupts] Or if we're having a house party or something like that; people will put all different sorts of things on.
> E: We listen to loads of things don't we? Sometimes its things like dance stuff otherwise it's like RnB or what's in the charts isn't it?
> F: [Interrupts] We don't just like one thing do we? I buy loads of different stuff like dance club stuff, RnB and more chilled out stuff for when I'm working.

One group of males (School E) also commented on how they usually listened to music whilst playing computer games, doing homework and preparing to go to the pub. They explained that:

> A: I've got music on all the time; usually every day ... I always have it on when I'm doing homework, it's less boring then, and when I'm on the computer.
> B: [Interrupts] And me, I'm always listening to it when I'm on my PS2 ... or when the lads are round we'll have it on when we're playing FIFA.
> C: It's good for when you're getting ready to out as well; it gets you in the mood 'cos there's always stuff on in the pub and that isn't there when we go out?
> D: Yeah, most of the bars in town that we'll go to have dance stuff on don't they?

E: Yeah, the stuff what we listen too; that's how we got into it wasn't it really?

For another group of young men (School D), making and listening to music was something that they did as part of their hobby as a member of a band or practicing DJ:

A: Listening to music is the main thing for me; I've got a CD disc programmer and a mixer what I use a lot ... When I have the time I'll practice mixing and stuff like that.
B: It's the same for me. My music's really important to me; it's part of my life I suppose. I'm really into Dj-ing so I practice a lot in the week.
C: [Interrupts] Yeah, I listen to it everyday, y'know when you're chilling out and relaxing.
D: Or having a laugh at parties or when we're out in town.
E: I'm different from them 'cos I'm in a band – I play the guitar – and we practice a few times a week round each other's houses.

In addition to these activities that are home-centred to a large degree, 15-16-year-olds were also involved in a number of leisure activities that are often pursued outside the home. Shopping with friends, for example, was a popular use of leisure among almost all young women who also shopped more frequently each week (usually 2-3 times per week) compared to males; approximately six-in-ten males reported going shopping with friends during their leisure time (Table F2 in Appendix F). Going to the cinema was also reported to be a popular way in which to spend their leisure for over four-fifths of 15-16-year-olds, with the highest proportion of youngsters doing so at least once per month (34% males; 39% females) (Table F3 in Appendix F).

Asked about their experiences of shopping in their leisure time, one group of females (School G) replied:

A: We go shopping in Manchester quite a lot don't we? We usually get the train in on a Saturday.
B: Manchester is where everyone goes really; it's better there because there's more shops to go to like French Connection or Gap.
C: [Interrupts] And places to eat!

Group: [Laughs]
D: It's every weekend usually isn't it when we go?
...
E: I don't, I go through phases: I'll either go every weekend or I'll just not go for a month ... It depends on how much money I've got really because I usually end up buying clothes and CDs or something like that.

Another group of young women who, at the time that the focus group was held, attended School C, explained how shopping and going to the cinema was also a regular way of spending their leisure time in the following way:

A: We'll go shopping every Saturday in town won't we? We always get something don't we? Like clothes or CDs from HMV.
B: Yeah, every weekend we'll walk round town and go in places like French Connection or Next.
C: [Interrupts] And we go to the cinema in town don't we? About every two weeks normally.
D: Yeah, and we'll go out for dinner won't we? In town?
E: There's loads of places aren't there that we'll go to? But we don't go every week do we?
F: No, we only really go out for meals when we get paid don't we? We can't afford to do it all the time can we?

While shopping was a far more popular leisure activity among young women, attending live sports events/matches proved to be far more attractive to males (60%), who were more than twice as likely as females to do so. Of those who reported attending live professional sports events/matches each month, one-third of males and half as many females reported doing so once per month, and three times as many males than females claimed to do so twice per month. Twice as many males than females reported attending live professional sports events/matches 3 times or more per month (Table F2 in Appendix F). Football was by far the most popular sport that both males (89%) and females (85%) regularly attended, with smaller proportions of youngsters attending rugby union (14% males; 11% females) and cricket (3% males). Attending sports events/matches with their friends only and with their father and

friends was reported as being more popular among males, while females were more likely to do with their father.

That football was popular among young males in particular is clear from the following extract from a focus group conducted at School B:

> A: Loads of us go to watch football don't we?
> B: Yeah, I go to watch Stoke down at the Britannia (Stadium).
> [Group laughs]
> B: There's nothing wrong with Stoke!
> C: [Interrupts] Get out now! They're crap! They're nowhere as good as Liverpool – that's who I go and watch with my dad. We've both got season tickets.
> A: Yeah, I go to see Liverpool at Anfield every week as well, but not with him. I go with my other mates.
> D: And he [points to a friend] goes to (Manchester) United every week.
> E: Yeah, I go every home game to (Manchester) United. So does he [points to another friend]. We both go don't we?
> F: Yeah, we've got season tickets in the Stretford End; that's the best place to sit at United. There's more atmosphere in that end.

Another group of young men who attended School D expressed similar views as follows:

> A: I love going to the football; I've got a season ticket at Liverpool ... I'll go away sometimes as well with my dad.
> B: Yeah, I go as well but not every week. I only go when I can get tickets.
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, I go to all the home games at Everton ... the pride of Merseyside, not Liverpool, they're crap!
> ...
> D: I go to Goodison when we're (Everton) at home as well but I go in the opposite end to him. It's better in our end.
> E: [Interrupts] Most of us go to Liverpool though, not Everton, they're crap.

While football was undoubtedly popular among many young men in the study, as the following extract from a focus group conducted at School G further indicates, some males also attended rugby union and rugby league games:

A: I go to the football – Man United – when they're at home 'cos we've got a season ticket together haven't we?
B: Yeah, we've got season tickets at (Manchester) United. We go with our dad's don't we?
A: Yeah.
C: [Interrupts] I do when I can get tickets but I go to rugby league games as well when I can't get tickets for United.
D: [Interrupts] And we'll go and watch Sale (rugby union team) as well won't we?
E: Yeah, usually if United are away and we can't tickets for them when they're at home.
F: I'll go to the match – Manchester United – about once every two months with a friend who sometimes has a spare season ticket. Otherwise I can't go.

In addition to these more structured forms of leisure in which young people were engaged, 'hanging around' local streets and town centres while 'doing nothing much' with friends was an sex- and age-independent leisure activity that approximately one-third of males and females reported doing every day of the week, with a further one-fifth of youngsters claiming to do so 4-6 times per week and 2-3 times per week (Table F2 in Appendix F). Visits to the local park with friends were also reported by approximately six-in-ten males and females, with the majority of males doing so 2-3 times per week and females once per month (Table F2 in Appendix F).

It was also clear from the focus groups that for some of the young people (especially those from working-class backgrounds) in this study 'hanging around' local neighbourhoods was something which they often did because 'there's nowhere else to go'. However, as one group of young men (School F) commented, this often resulted in 'being moved on' by the Police:

A: It's crap round here isn't it? There's nowhere else for us to go so we just mess about on the streets.
B: [Interrupts] There's nothing really to do is there? Or anywhere to go to round here so we'll just hang around with our mates won't we? ... On the streets and that or up on the park.
C: We just hang around with mates don't we?

E: Yeah, just messing about really ... in places where you shouldn't be and where the bizzies (the Police) just kick us off.
F: [Interrupts] It's like everywhere really, you always get chucked off somewhere whether it's round the back of the leisure centre where we go just to sit down and chill out or by the shop. They're always onto us for knocking about with our mates where we shouldn't be.

Another group of males who attended School B offered similar kinds of views:

A: There's nothing really to do round here other than hang around is there?
B: You don't always just want to do sport; you want to do different things as well don't you?
C: [Interrupts] Yeah, like having a laugh with your mates ... in places where we can go and not get chucked off.
D: [Interrupts] 'Cos we're always getting kicked off by the bizzies (the Police) for hanging round places, but there's no place else to go if we just want to hang around and not do much is there?
E: No, so we just end up walking around don't we? 'Cos you don't always want to do the same thing all the time do you?

As the following extract taken from a focus group conducted with a group of young women at School B indicates, however, these kinds of experiences were not confined to males:

A: We go down to 'the ocean' (a lake next to a golf course) ... everyone goes down there don't they just to chill out?
B: We just sit there don't we really? We don't do much do we?
C: Yeah, we just sit there and have a chat don't we and chill out when we don't really want to do anything else.
D: [Interrupts] But then the police come don't they and tell us to move?
[Group laughs]
E: I know, they come all the time and say that we can't hang around there, but we've got nowhere else to go where all of us can just hang around have we?
F: No, we get chucked off wherever we go don't we? We just want somewhere to go with our mates.

The felt need by young women for 'somewhere to go' when they want to hang around with friends is also clear from the comments of a group of females who attended School A:

A: We need somewhere to hang around with our mates don't we? We just have to go round the streets and do nothing ... It's dead boring doing that but we've got no choice if we just want to hang around.
B: Yeah, we should have a place to go instead of getting done by the police for standing around all the time. They're always onto us for walking round the streets but we can't go anywhere else.
C: [Interrupts] We can't go nowhere can we? You get kicked off the school by the bizzies (police) and you get moved from around by the shops and places like that.
D: We just need somewhere to go so that we can be with our mates.
E: There's nothing like a youth club or anything like that where we can be with our mates ... the youth clubs and facilities like that are the other side of town aren't they? So all we've got is the streets and they get boring.

It should also be noted, however, that while hanging around the streets and local shops and parks often involves young people walking around with friends, for some it also involved playing sport (such as kick-about football). That this was the case is clear from the comments of a group of males who attended School C:

A: We usually hang around in town on one or two evenings and at the weekend don't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, we try and do everything don't we? One day we will go into town and then a couple of days we'll be doing football on the park or on the grass over the road.
C: 'Cos although we're really into sport and play footy for a proper team it's just as important to hang around with the lads as well isn't it, and just have a knock around when we're out?
D: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's still important that we meet up with the lads and do other stuff but not instead of other things like football and sport.

In a not dissimilar way, one group of males who attended School D also commented:

- A: We'll nearly always take a ball out with us won't we when we go out after school, when we're on the park and that?
  B: [Interrupts] Yeah, 'cos when we walk the streets and stuff, if sport wasn't involved, it would be even more boring wouldn't it?
  C: Yeah, it's *well better* then; you enjoy it more if you're kicking a ball around don't you? (original emphasis)
  D: [Interrupts] That way we can play *and* have more of a laugh with our mates can't we? You're not just standing around then are you? (original emphasis)

It is clear from both the questionnaire and focus group data, therefore, that among the most popular uses of young people's privatized leisure were activities such as listening to music and playing on computers, whilst their use of out-of-home leisure provisions revolved around going shopping and to the cinema, attending live sports matches and hanging around 'doing nothing in particular' with friends. Going to a club/party or disco was also an attractive leisure activity that was mentioned by seven-in-ten females and one-half of males, with the highest proportion of males (20%) and females (25%) claiming to do so once per month or 2-3 times per month (13% and 19%, respectively) (Table F3 in Appendix F). Approximately one-half of males and two-fifths of females also reported visiting a pub/bar, the highest proportions of whom did so once per week (14% males; 14% females) (Table F3 in Appendix F). Other reported ways of spending leisure time included visiting youth clubs and amusement arcades, and betting and gambling, all of which were more attractive to males (Tables F2-F3 in Appendix F). However, as the next section indicates, one further and major use of leisure time by the young people in this study was their employment in part-time jobs.

Young people and work

At the time of this study, just over two-fifths of males and females reported having paid part-time jobs (Table 7.10). Among males, doing a paper/milk round and working in a shop/supermarket or a pub/bar or hotel were the most frequently reported jobs, while smaller proportions reported that manual work, paid housework and babysitting as their main form of employment (Table 7.10). Shop/supermarket work and working in pub/bar or hotel was more attractive among young women in the study, while babysitting was reported to be the part-time choice of employment for

approximately one-in-ten females (Table 7.10). In terms of the amount of time young people reported working on average each week, Table 7.11 indicates that the majority of males and females worked 4-6 hours per week (33% and 28%, respectively) or 7-9 hours per week (24% males; 33% females) on average.

Table 7.10 Kinds of jobs in which young people were employed (n and %) by sex and age

Kind of job	Total Males	Males 15-Years-old	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Shop / supermarket	41 (18.9)	18 (14.4)	23 (25.0)	62 (28.8)	26 (23.4)	36 (34.6)
Paper / milk round	71 (32.7)	47 (37.6)	24 (26.1)	13 (6.0)	9 (8.1)	4 (3.8)
Babysitting	9 (4.1)	3 (2.4)	6 (6.5)	29 (13.5)	19 (17.14)	10 (9.6)
Manual work	17 (7.8)	8 (6.4)	9 (9.8)	3 (1.4)	2 (1.9)	1 (1.0)
Pub / bar / hotel	38 (17.5)	23 (18.4)	15 (16.3)	53 (24.7)	24 (21.6)	29 (27.9)
Paid housework	13 (6.0)	8 (6.4)	5 (5.4)	8 (3.7)	3 (2.7)	5 (4.8)
None of these	28 (12.9)	18 (14.4)	10 (10.9)	47 (21.9)	28 (12.9)	19 (18.3)
Total	217	125	92	215	111	104

Table 7.11 Number of hours worked per week (n and %) by sex and age

Number of hours	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Less than one hour	6 (2.8)	5 (4.0)	1 (1.1)	2 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	0 (0.0)
1-3	36 (16.6)	23 (18.4)	13 (14.1)	34 (15.8)	24 (21.6)	10 (9.6)
4-6	71 (32.7)	35 (28.0)	36 (39.1)	61 (28.4)	27 (24.3)	34 (32.7)
7-9	53 (24.4)	34 (27.2)	19 (20.7)	70 (32.6)	39 (35.1)	31 (29.8)
10-12	26 (12.0)	18 (14.4)	8 (8.7)	26 (12.1)	10 (9.0)	16 (15.4)
13-15	10 (4.6)	6 (4.8)	4 (4.3)	9 (4.2)	1 (0.9)	8 (7.7)
16 or more	15 (6.9)	4 (3.2)	11 (12.0)	13 (6.0)	8 (7.7)	5 (4.8)
Total	217	125	92	215	111	104

The weekly earnings young people claimed to derive from the part-time jobs in which they were employed are presented in Table 7.12, which indicates that over one-half of both sexes claimed to earn between £10.01 and £30.00 per week, and one-in-ten males and females reported receiving £30.01-£40.00 per week in paid wages. A further one-fifth of males and just over one-in-ten females reported that they received £40.01 or more on average each week in paid wages (Table 7.12). In addition, regardless of whether they were currently employed in part-time jobs, almost all young people also received pocket money from parents or guardians on a weekly basis. Of those who reported receiving pocket money, the majority of males (27%) and females (36%) reported that they received £5.01-£10.00 or £10.01-£20.00 (34% males; 35% females) each week (Table 7.13).

Table 7.12 Weekly job earnings (£) (n and %) by sex and age

Average earnings	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Up to £5.00	3	3	0	2	0	2
	(1.4)	(2.4)	(0.0)	(0.9)	(0.0)	(1.9)
£5.01-10.00	17	9	8	22	13	9
	(7.8)	(7.2)	(8.7)	(10.2)	(11.7)	(8.7)
£10.01-20.00	64	44	20	56	31	25
	(29.5)	(35.2)	(21.7)	(26.0)	(27.9)	(24.0)
£20.01-30.00	50	27	23	66	36	30
	(23.0)	(21.6)	(25.0)	(30.7)	(32.4)	(28.8)
£30.01-40.00	36	23	13	41	19	22
	(16.6)	(18.4)	(14.1)	(19.1)	(17.1)	(21.2)
£40.01 or more	47	19	28	28	12	16
	(21.7)	(15.2)	(30.4)	(13.0)	(11.2)	(15.4)
Total	217	125	92	215	111	104

Table 7.13 Weekly pocket money received (£) (n and %) by sex and age

Average pocket money	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Up to £5.00	67	44	23	54	34	20
	(13.9)	(15.5)	(11.6)	(11.2)	(11.3)	(10.9)
£5.01-10.00	132	73	59	176	119	57
	(27.3)	(25.7)	(29.6)	(36.4)	(39.5)	(31.1)
£10.01-20.00	164	100	64	171	94	77
	(34.0)	(35.2)	(32.2)	(35.3)	(31.2)	(42.1)
£20.01-30.00	83	45	38	56	38	18
	(17.2)	(15.8)	(19.1)	(11.6)	(12.6)	(9.8)
£30.01 or more	37	22	15	27	16	11
	(7.7)	(7.7)	(7.5)	(5.6)	(5.3)	(6.0)
Total	483	284	199	484	301	183

Expenditure on leisure goods

Media-oriented products

In light of the money received in the form of wages and/or pocket money, 15-16-year-olds were asked in the YPSAL questionnaire to identify those things on which they spent money in their leisure time. In this regard, males were more likely to have reported spending their money on computer games (43%) and DVDs/videos (43%) compared to females (8% and 26%, respectively), with the majority spending £10.01-£20.00 when doing so (Table F4 in Appendix F). Over one-half of females and just under two-fifths of males reported spending money on magazines, with the majority of males and females spending between £5.01 and £20.00 when doing so (Table F4 in Appendix F). These kinds of sex-related differences in reported spending were also to be found in young people's expenditure on other leisure goods and services (Table F5 in Appendix F). Larger proportions of young women than men, for example, reported spending money on clothing and footwear, cosmetics/toiletries, going to clubs/discos and spending money on fares, with the highest proportions of both sexes spending £20.01 or more on the first of these, and up to £20.00 on the remaining three. The reported spending on entrance charges to leisure/sports centres, however, was higher

among males than females (38% and 28%, respectively), with the majority spending up to £10.00 per month (Table F5 in Appendix F).

Food and drink

In relation to young people's monthly expenditure on food and drink, fast foods (such as those purchased from McDonalds and Pizza Hut) were reportedly bought by just under seven-in-ten males and females, with one-fifth of males and three-in-ten females claiming to spend up to £5.00 per month on these items (Table F6 in Appendix F). Approximately one-third of males and one-quarter of females reported spending £5.01-£10.00 per month, and just under two-in-ten males and one-in-ten females claimed to allocate £10.01 or more of their monthly expenditure to the purchase of fast foods (Table F6 in Appendix F). Among the other most popular foods and drinks that 15-16-year-olds reported to buy were sweets, on which three-in-ten males and one-third of females claimed to spend up to £5.00 per month, and fizzy drinks on which three-in-ten males (35%) and just under two-fifths females (38%) claimed to spend up to £5.00 per month. One-fifth of females and 16% of males also reported spending up to £5.00 per month on cigarettes/roll ups (Table F6 in Appendix F). Alcohol, however, was bought by rather more youngsters, with approximately three-quarters of males and four-fifths of females claiming to do so. Of these, one-fifth of males and one-quarter of females reporting spending £5.01-£10.00 on alcohol, and over one-third of both sexes claimed to spend £10.01-£20.00 (Table F6 in Appendix F).

The next section explores the use of these legal drugs, as well as those which are illegal (such as cannabis), by 15-16-year-olds in more detail.

Young people and drugs

Alcohol

Alcohol consumption is a near-universal leisure activity among 15-16-year-olds, four-fifths of males and nine-in-ten females in this study reported drinking alcohol, with more of those aged 16 (84% males; 93% females) doing so than 15-year-olds (78% males; 90% females). Table 7.14 shows that, of these, just under one-fifth of males and one-quarter of females reported drinking less than once per week, with the majority claiming to drink on 1 day per week (38% males; 36% females) or 2 days per week (26% males; 27% females) (Table 7.14).

Table 7.14 Number of days per week (n and %) young people drink alcohol by sex and age (of those who drink alcohol)

Frequency (days per week)	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Less than once	72 (18.0)	44 (19.6)	28 (15.8)	120 (25.7)	85 (30.0)	35 (19.0)
One	154 (38.4)	84 (37.5)	70 (39.5)	168 (36.0)	95 (33.5)	73 (39.7)
Two	106 (26.4)	63 (28.1)	43 (24.3)	124 (26.6)	69 (24.4)	55 (29.9)
Three	56 (14.0)	26 (11.6)	30 (16.9)	53 (11.3)	32 (11.3)	21 (11.4)
Four	9 (2.2)	6 (2.7)	3 (1.7)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)
Five or more	4 (1.0)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.7)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.4)	0 (0.0)
Total	401	224	177	467	283	184

Indeed, when asked about when alcohol was most usually consumed, there was a universal reporting among the young people – regardless of sex and social class – who participated in the focus groups that Friday and Saturday evenings were the preferred days of the week on which to drink. As one group of males (School G) put it:

A: We always go out on Friday nights usually and Saturday don't we?
B: Yeah, Friday and Saturday nights are when most people are out ... usually we'll have a few pints at one of the bars in town won't we?
C: The weekends are the big nights to be out aren't they? Not many people go out in the week; it's on the weekends mainly isn't it? When we're usually out in town for a few beers?
D: [Interrupts] Yeah, but sometimes we'll drink at home won't we on the weekends if we haven't got much money?
...
F: Sometimes I'll also have a few drinks after work ... but Fridays and Saturdays are the main times when we're out.

It was also clear from the focus groups that drinking on a Friday and Saturday was favoured by many young people because they did not have to attend school the following day, as indicated in the following extract, taken from a focus group conducted with one group of young women (School G):

A: We're usually out on Friday and Saturdays 'cos you have got school in the week haven't you and you don't want a hangover do you?
B: Yeah, 'cos if it's the weekend then you've got Sunday to recover haven't you?
C: [Interrupts] It's really 'cos you don't want to wake up with a hangover when you're at school do you? It doesn't matter at the weekends; you can relax then and not worry about having to get up at school.
D: That's why not many people drink in pubs in the week isn't it; because we've got school the next day.

A group of males (School A) expressed similar reasons as follows:

A: It's 'cos you can't get pissed on a school night can you?
B: [Interrupts] And you can't come to school with a hangover can you? You can't come in when you're pissed?
...
C: You haven't got to go to school the next day have you, so you don't mind getting up with a headache or feeling rough on the weekend do you?
D: [Interrupts] And you don't have to be in early (at night) either have you? You can stay out late; 'til last orders or something like that.
E: And more people are out then; there's more girls ... around as well so you can get after them!

In terms of the number of alcoholic drinks consumed by those 15-16-year-olds (401 males; 467 females) who reported drinking in their leisure time, Table 7.15 indicates that whilst one-quarter of males and one-third of females reported drinking less than 3 drinks on average, the majority (approximately one-half) of both sexes claimed to consume 3-10 drinks on average when they drank (Table 7.15).

Table 7.15 Number of alcoholic drinks consumed (n and %) when young people drink by sex and age (of those who drink alcohol)*

Number of drinks	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Less than 3	105 (26.2)	60 (26.8)	45 (25.4)	158 (33.8)	100 (35.3)	58 (31.5)
3-10	199 (49.6)	118 (52.7)	81 (45.8)	(223 (47.8)	134 (47.3)	89 (48.4)
11-15	59 (14.7)	29 (12.9)	30 (16.9)	51 (10.9)	30 (10.6)	21 (11.4)
16-20	15 (3.7)	8 (3.6)	7 (4.0)	17 (3.6)	9 (3.2)	8 (4.3)
20 or more	23 (5.7)	9 (4.0)	14 (7.9)	18 (3.9)	10 (3.5)	8 (4.3)
Total	401	224	177	467	283	184

* 1 drink equals 1 pint of lager/beer, 1 bottle of alcopops, 2 shorts or 2 glasses of wine

The kinds of alcoholic drinks young people consume

The kinds of alcoholic drinks that young people consume was also explored in the focus groups, from which it was clear that among males from all social backgrounds, pints, cans and bottled lager, beer and high strength ciders were the most popular drinks consumed, with fewer young men drinking spirits (such as vodka) and alcopops. When asked about the kinds of alcoholic drinks they most usually consumed, one group of males (School A) replied:

> A: White Lightening mainly.
> B: Yeah, classy stuff like that! Mainly 'cos it's cheap and they're strong so you don't have to spend too much.
> C: [Interrupts] I don't, I prefer lager ... Carling and stuff like that.
> D: Yeah, or Stella. That's what I mainly drink. Or sometimes it'll be Fosters.

E: I drink lager really. It's better than those alcopops shit.
F: [Interrupts] I'll have Jack Daniels as well sometimes; y'know when you get fed up of lager.
G: But we're not like them poofs who drink stuff like Vodka are we?
D: No, we got pissed off it once didn't we? I'd rather stick to cans now.

Lager was reported as one of the most frequently drunk alcoholic beverages by another group of young men who, at the time that the focus groups were held, attended School F:

A: We'll usually have about between eight and ten bottles of lager – Stella or something like that – won't we when we're out?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, or Corona or bottles of cider like Strongbow.
C: Not for me, I just prefer pints of lager like Budweiser or Stella. Things like that, what a lot of us drink.
D: It's mainly Stella for me; it's stronger than the weak stuff like Carling and Fosters.
E: I'll usually have Budweiser if it's on, otherwise I'll have Heineken or Stella; the good stuff.

While lager, beer and cider tended to be more favoured by males, the most commonly preferred alcoholic drinks among all females were reported as being spirits (such as vodka and Malibu), white wine and alcopops (including Bacardi Breezer and WKD). This is clear from the following extract from a focus group conducted with a group of young women (School G):

A: We'll mainly drink just alcopops won't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, stuff like Bacardi Breezers or WKD; stuff like that or Smirnoff Ice.
C: I prefer normal vodka with coke or white wine if it's good.
D: And we'll sometimes have Malibu and coke won't we? It depends on if we're in the mood.
E: [Interrupts] Most of us like spirits mainly with some kind of fizzy drink don't we? That's what's most popular for girls.
A: Yeah, or alcopops.

Another group of young women who attended School C also commented how:

> A: Most of the time we'll just drink shorts won't we? Usually a quarter of a bottle of vodka, something like that.
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, vodka and stuff like that; that's what we drink most.
> C: Whatever will get you drunk fastest really isn't it?
> D: [Interrupts] Yeah, like wine. Lambrini or stuff like that, what you can get from Sainsbury's or somewhere like that.
> E: Oh no, I don't drink wine really; give me a bottle of Stella or WKD any day!
> F: [Interrupts] No, I hate Stella! The only thing that I drink is Archers and lemonade or Tia Maria, stuff like that. Lager's horrible.

The places where young people drink alcohol

As noted above, while street-based leisure was popular among 15-16-year-olds, it was especially attractive to those from lower social class backgrounds. It was not altogether unsurprising to find from the focus groups, therefore, that street-based drinking and drinking in local parks in the surrounding neighbourhood was reported as being more popular among young people, especially males, from more working-class neighbourhoods than it was for those from other social backgrounds. When describing where they most usually drank alcohol, one group of males from School D explained:

> A: We only usually drink on the streets really don't we? ... Most of us go up there, where the bizzies (the Police) don't go.
> B: Yeah, it's well better up there, like, when all of your mates are out and sitting around having a laugh and having a beer.
> C: [Interrupts] Or sometimes we'll just be walking around having a drink and a laugh won't we? We don't always stay in the same place.
> D: And we'll go and sit under a bridge that you can go to won't we?
> E: Yeah, the 'piss bridge', it's good up there.
> F: But it's only one night at the weekend that we go up there usually. Otherwise we're just walking round.

A further group of young men (School A) commented positively, as they saw it, upon street drinking in a similar way:

> A: The streets are boss ... they're well good aren't they?
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, but sometimes it's just in the park isn't it? When there's loads of us out? The pigs (Police) don't come that far up there do they?
> C: They give us less hassle don't they there? You don't get your cans taken off you do you?
> D: But we're on the streets mainly aren't we? Round by the Spar (shop) where we can get served.
> E: [Interrupts] Or on the corner up by the chippy and the doctor's and that; a fair few of us go up there don't we? It's well good up there 'cos there's loads of people who get 'pissed' (drunk) up there.

While males reported engaging in street-drinking, some young women from largely working-class backgrounds also did, as the following extract from a focus group conducted at the same school indicates:

> A: When we're out we're on the streets aren't we?
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, and the park when there's a few of us out.
> C: [Interrupts] There's nowhere for us to go though is there, so we end up on the streets ... it's alright in the summer 'cos you're out with your mates having a laugh but it's crap in the winter when it's raining and cold.
> ...
> D: We just walk round really don't we? With a few bottles from the shop.
> E: It's just roaming round what we do on the weekend isn't it? We'll go to the shops, get served and hang around there or go up to the park 'cos we can't get in anywhere can we? Like a pub or anything?
> A: We don't look old enough do we? We've tried though!

Another group of females, who attended School B, also reported drinking alcohol while walking around local streets:

> A: A lot of people just meet up and have a drink on the streets or in the park don't they?
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's mainly on the streets 'cos we can't get served can we, in pubs round here?
> C: We'll go anywhere we can really won't we?
> D: [Interrupts] Anywhere where the pigs aren't, the bizzies, 'cos they just take your drinks off you.

E: So we just have to go on the streets and that or by the shops as far away from them as we can get.

An additional notable feature of the clear class-related pattern that characterized youth drinking was that drinking alcohol in pubs, clubs and restaurants were reported as being more popular locations for young males and females from higher up the social scale to engage in weekend drinking. One group of females (School E), for example, explained that:

A: When we're going out with our mates now, on the weekend, we're going to pubs and then clubbing aren't we?
B: Yeah, going to the pub and then going clubbing is well popular; lots of people go to the club in town.
C: [Interrupts] And everyone goes to the pub first as well don't they? We meet up there first, have a few drinks in there 'cos it's cheaper, and then we'll go clubbing.
D: Lots of us are going out to clubs and wine bars aren't we? It's a lot better than just walking round streets like some people do.

Similar views were also expressed by a group of young women who attended School G. They said:

A: When we're out on Fridays, we're out in clubs and pubs in town; that's where we mainly go isn't it? We're not on the streets or anything like that.
B: [Interrupts] Not on the streets, no way ... the scallies do that. It's just rude to drink on the streets!
C: Losers go and drink on the streets; we're not like that at all. We'd rather be in a pub in town.
D: It's really like 'Have you got nothing else better to do than go on the streets?'
E: We just drink out in pubs and clubs – they're much better – or when we're having dinner in a restaurant.

Many young males from more middle-class backgrounds also claimed to favour drinking alcohol in pubs and clubs, and were rather less concerned with doing so while walking around local streets or parks. One group of these young men (School E) described the attraction of drinking in such contexts in the following way:

A: We mainly like to drink in pubs don't we because we can get served in town?
B: Yeah, and 'cos the pubs are local.
C: [Interrupts] And they play decent music don't they? They're not old men's pubs or anything like that. They're more for our age.
D: It's usually a couple of pubs and then a club where we go at the weekend isn't it? We're not on the streets or anything like that. There's loads of pubs in town where we can all go together. It's a better laugh that way.

Another group of males (School G) explained how pubs were also popular contexts in which they drank in the company of friends and family members while watching football matches. They described what usually happens in such situations as follows:

A: We'll often watch (Manchester) United and have a few beers in the pub as well won't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, we'll go up with the other lads who support United – Loads of United fans go in The Red Lion.
C: I'll drink with my dad and his mates as well when the football's on.
...
D: We'll go to other bars in town on a night out as well; a few of us will go to the ones up in Wilmslow on the weekend won't we?
E: We'll only go to the bars in town though; they're a load better than the pubs round here 'cos they're more for our age.

A different group of males (School C) also suggested that drinking alcohol while watching football was something that they did in the parental home and the homes of their friends. They explained that:

A: We'll drink at home as well and at mates' houses when the football's on won't we? ... We'll just get a few cans from the shop and stay in when we don't fancy the pub.
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, one of us will just go to the shop and buy a crate (of beer) and go round to our mate's house.
C: We'll often do that won't we? Go round someone's house and have a few beers and watch the match?
D: [Interrupts] We'll do that when (Manchester) United are on Sky mainly.

Drinking in the parental home and at friends' houses, as in the above example, was something that was mentioned by several groups of young people from all social

backgrounds. However, while for males it appeared something that they did more out of choice to be with their friends, as in the above example, for some groups of young women, home-centred drinking was reported to be the result of parental concerns over personal safety and was allegedly used, simultaneously, as an attempt by parents to control the amount of alcohol they consume. One group of young women (School E), for example, pointed out that:

> A: Everybody we hang around with drinks but our parents are worried about us being on the streets aren't they?
> B: Yeah, they think it's better that they know where you are and what you're drinking so they let us drink at home don't they?
> C: [Interrupts] Definitely, my parents would rather know what I'm drinking.
> D: [Interrupts] So we'll just go round each others' houses won't we and drink there? We'll have stuff like wine what our moms will get for us won't we?
> E: Yeah, it's like when we're round mine (house) we'll just watch films or listen to music out the back won't we, in the conservatory on our own.

In a focus group conducted at School C, another group of females recalled similar experiences to these. They described such experiences as follows:

> A: We mainly drink at home don't we? ... My mom would rather me drink at home rather than me being out on the streets.
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, 'cos its, like, safety; like our parents know where we are then.
> C: [Interrupts] That's the same as mine. My mom and dad don't mind that I drink but they don't want me to do it on the streets 'cos they think it's too dangerous, so they'll let me drink at home where they know we're safe.
> D: It's not bad is it? ... We'll sit in with our mates with some bottles of wine and watch some DVDs or films won't we? Like on a Friday night.
> E: Yeah, and it's cheaper than going out!

Reasons for drinking

There was a universal acceptance among the 15-16-year-olds that drinking alcohol facilitated something upon which they placed particular value, namely, socializing with friends. Indeed, the central value placed upon 'drinking to be with friends' was brought out very clearly by one group of females (School G) who explained how:

A: We don't just drink to drink do we; we drink to be with friends really don't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's more of a social kind of thing isn't it? That's why we drink mainly?
C: You don't just drink because you think 'Oh it's alcohol'. You just drink to be with your friends don't you?
D: You just chill out with your mates and forget about school.

These kinds of views are further illustrated by one group of females (School E) who commented upon the social nature of drinking alcohol in the following way:

A: It's not as if you need it (alcohol) is it?
B: [Interrupts] No, you don't need it ... it's something that you do to socialise with people isn't it? That's why a lot of people drink.
C: But some people think that we need to drink to have a good time.
D: [Interrupts] But you don't, not when you're out clubbing anyway ... you don't have to drink as much, it's just the fact that you're out with your mates socializing and having a laugh.
A: I just go clubbing for the socializing as well ... I do drink but it's not all about that.
B: I do. I just go to dance really; I don't go just to drink.

The value that was placed upon the sociability generated in contexts where young people drink alcohol was also emphasized by one group of males who attended School C:

A: You do it (drink alcohol) 'cos you're out with the lads, with your mates and having a laugh isn't it?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's 'cos you're out with your mates isn't it?
C: [Interrupts] It's just dead sociable.
D: It's more social drinking with mates and having a laugh isn't it; that's why we drink really?
B: It's just like recreational drinking isn't it? Nothing serious. You do it 'cos you can be with your mates.
E: That's what people want to do isn't it? Just hanging out with your mates?

The following extract from a focus group with a group of young men who attended School F reinforces the way in which males also placed particular importance upon drinking in order 'to be with mates' and to meet members of the opposite sex:

A: It's (drinking alcohol) good because you're out having a good time with your mates and 'cos it's exciting.
B: You do it to be with your mates mainly don't you?
C: Yeah, you want to do it 'cos you want to be with your mates don't you? ... You also meet girls easier that way as well don't you?
D: [Interrupts] We tend to drink more at parties don't we because your mates are around so you want to be part of it as well ... it's easier to get girls as well; you're more confident when you've had a drink aren't you?

Further to this, it was clear that drinking alcohol served a number of additional purposes – beyond the social interaction aspects – for the young people in the study, one of which was the loosening of emotional restraint (for example, by increasing excitement and feelings of self-confidence). One group of males (School B), for example, explained how drinking alcohol helped them to relax and increase feelings of self-confidence in the following way:

A: It relaxes you doesn't it, drinking alcohol?
B: You can be yourself more when you've had a drink can't you? You're less self-conscious.
C: [Interrupts] And you're more confident after you've had a drink aren't you?
D: [Interrupts] 'Cos you're more chilled out and out having a laugh with the lads.
E: You forget about all of your problems then don't you? You get a kind of 'buzz' from doing it don't you? It's more exciting than just going to school or whatever.

These kinds of feelings of excitement and experiencing a 'buzz' or emotional 'high' from drinking alcohol were also expressed by a group of young women at School A:

A: You have a laugh when you're out drinking don't you? It gives you a 'buzz' doesn't it?
B: Yeah, you get a 'buzz' from being drunk and 'cos you're out with your mates you enjoy yourself more. I don't know what it is, I just like the feeling of being drunk. It's exciting.
C: [Interrupts] It gives you a better 'buzz' when you're out with your mates doesn't it? It's a better laugh when you're out with them rather than when you're in on your own.
D: [Interrupts] 'Cos it's boring then isn't it? You look forward to the weekend 'cos you're out enjoying yourself aren't you?

E: I think that for girls, and with all the personal problems they have, they think alcohol is the best thing for them ... it helps you to release your emotions a bit; your emotions shrink.

The ways in which drinking helped to counter the high degree of routinization characteristic of 15-16-year-olds' lives (such as providing a break from the demands of school) was also commented upon positively by many youngsters in the study. The de-routinizing functions that drinking alcohol performs for young people is brought out particularly clearly in the following extract from a focus group held with a group of males (School D):

A: It gets boring doing the same things all the time all day everyday doesn't it? So you actually look forward to weekends where you go out drinking and get pissed (drunk).
B: *Definitely*, that's the whole point of it isn't it? Going out on the weekend and enjoying yourself when you're not ... at school doing work. (original emphasis)
C: [Interrupts] It's a break from school isn't it? Like a release.
D: [Interrupts] It's a sign it's the weekend when you're out drinking isn't it?
E: You get a kick from it don't you? There's more of a 'buzz'; you get more adrenaline when you're out with your mates and not worrying about school or anything.

These kinds of views were also expressed by a group of females (School C) who explained how:

A: We drink to have good time and enjoy ourselves don't we? And 'cos we're not at school just sitting down and working.
B: It's, like, something that you can do and go out and have fun doing ... it's like a break from all the work you're doing isn't it?
C: [Interrupts] I think once you get to Year 11 the stress starts to build up doesn't it, so people start going out drinking to relieve stress and stop thinking about school and all of the work we've got on.
D: Instead of just staying in on a Friday night – like we used to when we were in Year 7 – you'll go out and have a drink as a break from the hard week you've had won't you?
E: [Interrupts] It just gets you out of the routine of going to school and working; you just enjoy it don't you? Y'know, just been out with your friends having a drink and enjoying yourself?

Notwithstanding the reasons 15-16-year-olds offer for why they drink alcohol and the meanings that this has for them, drinking alcohol was widely perceived to be a more-or-less central aspect of youth lifestyles and what it means to be a young person. In short, drinking alcohol was considered to be 'a normal thing for what teenagers do' (male, School D) and was something that was viewed as characteristic of the process of growing older. These views were brought out particularly clearly in the following extract from a focus group held with a group of young women from School E:

> A: It's part of young people's culture isn't it? It's what you do when you're younger and start getting older isn't it, drinking and going out?
> B: [Interrupts] It's kind of like peer pressure as well I suppose isn't it?
> C: [Interrupts] I don't think it is. I don't think people realise that it is peer pressure that makes them do it (drink) because no one really forces you to drink do they; you just think they do I suppose ... it's what's expected isn't it?
> D: Yeah, I don't think your friends force you into doing it but when they're doing it and you're not you stand out and you want to be without your friends so you so join in.
> E: You want to be like them and not stand out by yourself do you, by not drinking?

These kinds of constraints – not in the form of peer pressure, but peer influence – that young people feel towards drinking alcohol in socially acceptable ways among friends is further reinforced in the comments of a group of males who attended School C. They explained such feelings as follows:

> A: A lot of it is peer pressure isn't it, why teenagers drink?
> B: [Interrupts] It's not really pressure is it? It's just that if everyone is drinking you feel stupid don't you just standing there sipping juice or something? ... You feel left out don't you 'cos you're not involved? So you just join in don't you 'cos you want to be with your mates?
> C: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's like you don't need to have a drink to have a laugh do you? You can just watch everyone else drink but you don't do you?
> D: Yeah, that's funny ... like if you're not drinking you feel left out don't you when everyone else is doing it?
> E: Yeah, 'cos you want to be in with your mates don't you? Not like some loner who's boring and never does anything.

Smoking

When asked whether they currently smoked cigarettes (including roll ups), approximately one-fifth of males (n=95) and one-quarter of females (n=125) reported that they were current smokers, with more 16-year-olds (22% males; 29% females) claiming to do so than those aged 15 (17% males; 22% females). However, while those in the older age group were more likely to be current smokers, 15-year-olds smoked more frequently with 65% of males and 77% of females claiming to do so on 5 or more days per week, compared to 46% of males and 61% of females aged 16 (Table 7.16). Fewer than one-in-ten males and females, almost independently of age, reported smoking less than once per week and on 1, 2, 3 and 4 days per week (Table 7.16). As Table 7.17 shows, of those who currently smoked, approximately one-fifth of males and females reported usually smoking 1-5 and 16-25 cigarettes (including roll-ups), and over one-in-ten males and one-quarter of females reported smoking 6-15, 26-45 and 46 or more cigarettes (including roll-ups) on average each week.

Table 7.16 Number of days (%) young people smoke cigarettes by sex and age (of those who smoke)

Number of days	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Less than once per week	8 (8.4)	2 (4.1)	6 (13.0)	11 (8.8)	5 (7.4)	6 (10.5)
One	10 (10.5)	4 (8.2)	6 (13.0)	6 (4.8)	3 (4.4)	3 (5.3)
Two	8 (8.4)	3 (6.1)	5 (10.9)	8 (6.4)	2 (2.9)	6 (10.5)
Three	8 (8.4)	4 (8.2)	4 (8.7)	5 (4.0)	2 (2.9)	3 (5.3)
Four	8 (8.4)	4 (8.4)	4 (8.7)	8 (6.4)	4 (5.9)	4 (7.0)
Five or more	53 (55.8)	32 (65.3)	21 (45.7)	87 (69.6)	52 (76.5)	35 (61.4)
Total	95	49	46	125	68	57

Table 7.17 Number of cigarettes (%) smoked per week by sex and age (of those who smoke)

Number of cigarettes	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
1-5	21	9	12	23	9	14
	(22.1)	(18.4)	(26.1)	(18.4)	(13.2)	(24.6)
6-10	10	5	5	18	13	5
	(10.5)	(10.2)	(10.9)	(14.4)	(19.1)	(8.8)
11-15	5	4	1	13	8	5
	(5.3)	(8.2)	(2.2)	(10.4)	(11.8)	(8.8)
16-25	21	11	10	16	13	3
	(22.1)	(22.4)	(21.7)	(12.8)	(19.1)	(5.3)
26-35	6	4	2	21	8	13
	(6.3)	(8.2)	(4.3)	(16.8)	(11.8)	(22.8)
36-45	8	5	3	14	6	8
	(8.4)	(10.2)	(6.5)	(11.2)	(8.8)	(14.0)
46 or more	24	11	13	20	11	9
	(25.3)	(22.4)	(28.3)	(16.0)	(16.2)	(15.8)
Total	95	49	46	125	68	57

Young people's views upon and experiences of smoking were also explored in the focus groups. Indeed, smoking was widely reported by males, as well as females, as something that more young women were likely to do on a regular basis (five days or more). One group of females (School G) – some of whom were self-defined 'social smokers' – explained how:

> A: A lot of the girls do smoke in our year don't they?
> B: I'd say about 35% (girls) smoke *properly* (original emphasis).
> C: [Interrupts] And about 40% will do it socially as well won't they? Like when we're at parties and there's a few (cigarettes) going round some of us will smoke a couple won't we?
> D: We don't, like, smoke all of the time do we? It's only sometimes if we're drunk and a few people are doing it at parties.
> E: Yeah, but we're not like the others, the girls what smoke properly like everyday?
> F: [Interrupts] Yeah, and I think a few of them start doing it in the younger years don't they – those that do it now who think they're cool.

Similarly, one group of males (School E), all of whom have tried smoking once but had not done so since, suggested that:

A: The girls smoke more, definitely.
B: [Interrupts] There's far more girls what smoke *a lot*, *lot* more (original emphasis) isn't there, at our school?
C: Yeah, they certainly smoke a lot more than the lads don't they? It's like almost everyday that they do it … A lot of them have been smoking since Year 7.
D: I'd say about twice as many girls smoke than lads don't they?
E: I don't think many of the lads in our year do. That's rare really isn't it, for lads to smoke? We tend to smoke more weed than them don't we?
F: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's mainly the girls isn't it who smoke fags, but they don't smoke as much weed as lads?

These kinds of views, which were based largely on the perceptions of 15-16-year-olds who did not smoke or smoked fairly infrequently, were also expressed by those who reported smoking regularly, that is, on five days or more per week. One such group of young women (School B), who had been smoking regularly for roughly four years, described their reasons for doing so as follows:

A: I smoke. I've smoked since about Year 8. I don't really know why but …
B: [Interrupts] And I do; lots of us started together didn't we in our year?
A: [Interrupts] I suppose we really started 'cos we were more obsessed about how we looked weren't we?
…
C: Yeah, I think that girls are more conscious about their looks and the way they are aren't they? … That's why lots of girls here started.
D: [Interrupts] And 'cos there's not much else to do round here is there … when you're hanging around doing nothing?
E: I started 'cos some of my best friends who I hang around with started … I suppose we've just carried on really.
F: It's the girls who mainly smoke fags isn't it? But it's mainly the lads who smoke weed.

Another group of females (School F), who had been smoking regularly for around two years at the time of the focus group, also commented upon how they began smoking because of concerns about their body image as follows:

A: My mom and dad know I smoke … they don't like it but it helps to keep my weight down; that's why I still do it.
B: I think most girls who smoke do it because they think that it'll make them skinnier don't they?

C: [Interrupts] Yeah, because it kills your appetite doesn't it? You don't have to eat as much if you do.
D: Most girls would probably tell you that, I'd say.
E: [Interrupts] Except for those what just do it at parties or smoke one-offs ... who are social smokers like when we're in the pub or at a party or something when they're drunk.
F: [Interrupts] They'll probably do it 'cos there's some (cigarettes) going round and people who don't normally do it but do 'cos they're drunk.

Brief mention has been made in the above examples of some young women for whom smoking is something they tend to do on a more occasional basis (for example, when they are socializing with friends in pubs and at parties). It was also clear from the comments of young men who took part in the focus groups that 'social smoking' was something that males did rather than smoking on a more regular basis. This point was brought out clearly in a focus group with a group of males (School F) who described themselves as 'social smokers'. They explained:

A: I have tried smoking – I did it when I was at a party when we were in Year 9 – but I'm not really a proper smoker now ... I'll only smoke sometimes if we're out drinking at a party and there's some (cigarettes) going round.
B: [Interrupts] That's like me. I'm not a smoker but I do it every now and then. I don't know why ... It's like (name) said, we only really do it when we're having a few drinks and get drunk; it's not all the time that we do.
C: If we do it its more like ... social smoking isn't it?
D: [Interrupts] Yeah ... it's definitely only when I'm out with mates and it's social and we're having a drink and a laugh. It's not too serious.

These kinds of views upon the experience of 'social smoking' were also described by another group of young men (School D):

A: We don't smoke as often as the girls do we?
B: [Interrupts] No, not really 'cos we'll only really do it socially when we're drunk or having a few drinks at a party or something.
C: Yeah, or like when we're out in a pub and the other lads start passing a few round (cigarettes) and start (smoking) ... after they've started to get pissed (drunk).
D: It's only really the girls who smoke properly isn't it?

E: [Interrupts] I'd say it's only about 20% of lads that *actually* smoke and you'll get an extra 10% that'll smoke socially ... when they're out drinking and then at parties you'll get 50% smoking (original emphasis).

Not all males were social smokers however for, as the following extract from a focus group conducted at School B indicates, some young men (approximately one-in-five of the whole sample) were also regular smokers and had been for several years. This group explained that:

A: All of us in here have tried it haven't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it was in Year 7 when we started wasn't it?
C: Not for me, I was in Year 9 when we started going out and getting pissed (drunk) and that.
...
D: I smoke – it's usually Benson – 'cos it's something to do isn't it?
E: [Interrupts] And 'cos we can get served!
F: [Interrupts] It's better than doing nothing isn't it? ... Most of the people we hang round with smoke a few don't they? It's become normal now for us, to smoke.

When asked about why they currently smoked, another group of males (School C) replied:

A: Most of us in here (the focus group) smoke every day don't we?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, we've, like, smoked every day since about we were in Year 8 haven't we?
C: [Interrupts] Yeah, we do do it everyday but we only have about four (cigarettes) a day don't we?
D: It's about 8 (cigarettes) for me though; I'll smoke more than them after school.
E: Yeah, but at the weekend it's even more [common] when everyone is getting pissed and that isn't it? ... We'll have more then when we're out won't we?
F: [Interrupts] It's like Friday nights isn't it; it's about 20 (cigarettes) 'cos you're getting bevvied (drunk) and having a laugh with the lads.
G: For of us though it's less 'cos we'll go onto spliffs instead.
A: [Interrupts] Yeah, we'll usually just smoke spliffs instead after a bit, y'know when we've got pissed (drunk).

It was also clear, as in the above example, that illegal drugs were also part of the lives of some young people in the study; the prevalence of reported drug use and its place in the lives of 15-16-year-olds is examined in the next section.

Illegal drugs

Although it is particularly difficult to determine exactly the numbers of young people who use illegal drugs, not least because of the strict legal sanctions that are imposed on their use, this should not prevent us from seeking to generate relatively reliable data on young people's use of illegal drugs. In this study, approximately one-third of 15-16-year-olds reported having used any kind of illegal drug, with two-fifths of all 16-year-olds reported having done so compared to one-third of males and three-in-ten females aged 15 (Table 7.19). Cannabis was, by some way, the drug that most young people reported having used with seven-in-ten males and females having done so, while very few youngsters reported having ever used any of the following combination of drugs: cannabis and amylnitrates (8% males; 10% females), cannabis and solvents (e.g. gas) (2% males; 4% females), cannabis, amylnitrates and solvents (e.g. gas) (3% males; 2% females) and ecstasy (2% males; 3% females).

Table 7.18 Number of young people (n and %) who have ever used illegal drugs by sex and age

Ever tried drugs	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Yes	181	92	89	168	93	75
	(36.4)	(32.1)	(42.4)	(32.7)	(29.4)	(38.1)
No	316	195	121	345	223	122
	(63.6)	(67.9)	(57.6)	(67.3)	(70.6)	(61.9)
Total	497	287	210	513	316	197

This picture was also illustrated by the comments of the 15-16-year-olds who participated in the focus groups at each of the schools in the study. One group of males who attended School F, for example, suggested that:

> A: About 30% of lads and girls have tried it, weed (cannabis), I'd say.
> B: Nothing, like, serious – ecstasy or stuff like that – it's mainly weed what people have tried if they have isn't it?
> C: [Interrupts] I know a couple of people who have tried speed but not as much as weed; that's the main one.
> D: I've tried it, weed, but I don't do it now; it doesn't really bother me.
> E: I have but I don't do it anymore ... quite a few people who I know are like that.

A group of young men (School C) also explained how similar proportions of people whom they personally knew had tried cannabis:

> A: I don't know many people who haven't tried it – weed.
> B: [Interrupts] You have to distinguish between regulars and one-offs don't you?
> C: Most people we know have done a one-off haven't they? Like when they've been drunk and there's been some going round at a party.
> D: It was like at (friend's name) party last year wasn't it when we tried it? He got some from somewhere so it went round after we'd got pissed?
> E: Yeah, I remember that; it was well messy!
> ...
> F: [Interrupts] I'd say about 40% of lads (who have ever tried cannabis) are regulars now aren't they?
> G: I'd say about 50% do it now.
> A: There's definitely more lads smoking marijuana than normal tobacco though.

Many young women also expressed similar kinds of views when asked about whether they themselves and others – whom they personally knew – had ever tried a drug of some kind. This was illustrated by a group of females at School E:

> A: Most people I know have tried it (cannabis). It's the main one (illegal drug) people have tried isn't it?
> B: I've smoked weed once but I haven't done it since. It was horrible; I don't see what it does for people who do it.
> C: I've smoked weed once at a party but I'm not bothered about it now.

A: [Interrupts] It's really easy now isn't it, to get hold of weed? I can get hold of 'Es' and speed as well but I don't; weeds the main one.
D: Smoking weed is at the weekend for me; just like when we're out at parties and stuff. Nothing too serious.
E: [Interrupts] Yeah, I do it then, if I ever do, but I think the lads do it more than the girls don't they?
A: Yeah, I reckon more lads ... smoke weed but don't smoke fags.

Another group of young women (School D) – some of whom had never tried drugs, others of whom had tried cannabis, then used it for a while, before stopping – expressed similar points as follows:

A: I've never touched any
B: Nor have I; I've never tried it, ever.
C: None of us three have.
D: I've tried it. I've tried weed once but I don't do it any more.
...
E: I've took drugs, not hard stuff, but I've smoked weed.
F: [Interrupts] Yeah, I've tried weed before.
G: [Interrupts] Yeah, 'cos we tried weed and started to get pretty wrecked on it didn't we? We were doing it every other day weren't we at one point? It's like we'd go out of school at dinner and we'd smoke one or two and come back totally wrecked, but we don't do that any more. Do we?
F: No, we only really did for a few months back in Year 9 but we don't do that anymore.

Data from the questionnaire also indicated that of those 15-16-year-olds who reported having ever used drugs, just under six-in-ten males and over one-half of females reported using drugs in the past month, with slightly more 15- than 16-year-old males (62% and 56%, respectively) and females (57% and 53%, respectively) claiming to do so (Table 7.19). Of those who reported using drugs in the past month, approximately one-quarter of males and females reported doing so once per month, and one-fifth of males and just under three-in-ten females claiming to do so twice per month (Table 7.20). Over one-in-ten males and females reported using drugs three times in the past month, with two-fifths of males and one-third of females reporting that they did so more than three times in the past month (Table 7.20). Cannabis was again the most

popular drug used, with four-fifths of males and females using the drug in the past month, followed by cannabis and amylnitrates (8% males; 3% females) and ecstasy (5% females only).

Table 7.19 Number of young people (%) who reported using illegal drugs in the past month by sex and age (of those who had used drugs)

Used in past month	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Yes	107	57	50	92	52	40
	(59.1)	(62.0)	(56.2)	(55.1)	(56.5)	(53.3)
No	74	35	39	75	40	35
	(40.9)	(38.0)	(43.8)	(44.9)	(43.5)	(46.7)
Total	181	92	89	167	92	75

Table 7.20 Reported prevalence of illegal drug use in the past month (n and %) by sex and age (of those who had used drugs)

Frequency	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Once	29	16	13	21	10	11
	(27.1)	(28.1)	(26.0)	(22.8)	(19.2)	(27.5)
Twice	20	10	10	26	16	10
	(18.7)	(17.5)	(20.0)	(28.3)	(30.8)	(25.0)
Three times	15	7	8	15	10	5
	(14.0)	(12.3)	(16.0)	(16.3)	(19.2)	(12.5)
More than three times	43	24	19	30	16	14
	(40.2)	(42.1)	(38.0)	(32.6)	(30.8)	(35.0)
Total	107	57	50	92	52	40

Of those 15-16-year-olds who reported using drugs in the past month, six-in-ten males and one-half of females also reported using drugs in the past week, with more 16-year-olds reporting doing so (Table 7.21). Overall, of those who had used drugs in the past month, three-in-ten males and two-fifths of females reported using drugs once in the past week, and one-in-ten males and one-quarter of females reported doing so twice in the past week (Table 7.22). Approximately one-in-ten of both sexes claimed to do so three times, with two-fifths of males and two-in-ten females reported doing so three or more times in the past week (Table 7.22). There were some notable age-

related differences in reported weekly drug use however, with more 16-year-old males and females reporting that they used drugs once (36% and 52%, respectively) or twice in the past week (21% and 29%, respectively), with more 15-year-old males and females (45% and 24%, respectively) than those aged 16 reporting they used drugs three or more times in the past week (Table 7.22). Cannabis was again the most used drug, with almost all males and females who claimed to use drugs in the past week reporting its use.

Table 7.21 Number of young people (%) who reported using drugs in the past week by sex and age (of those who had used drugs in the past month only)

	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Yes	64 (59.8)	31 (54.4)	33 (66.0)	45 (48.9)	24 (46.2)	21 (52.5)
No	43 (40.2)	26 (45.6)	17 (33.0)	47 (51.1)	28 (53.8)	19 (47.5)
Total	107	57	50	92	52	40

Table 7.22 Reported prevalence of drug use in the past week (n and %) by sex and age (of those who had used drugs in the past month only)

	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Once	19 (29.7)	7 (22.6)	12 (36.4)	20 (44.4)	9 (37.5)	11 (52.4)
Twice	13 (20.3)	6 (19.4)	7 (21.2)	12 (26.7)	6 (24.0)	6 (28.6)
Three times	8 (12.5)	4 (12.9)	4 (12.2)	3 (6.7)	3 (12.5)	0 (0.0)
More than three times	24 (37.5)	14 (45.1)	10 (30.3)	10 (22.2)	6 (24.0)	4 (19.0)
Total	64	31	33	45	24	21

In the same manner as the questionnaire, the focus groups with young people sought to distinguish between those who have used one drug once or only a few times and those had became regular users of one or more drugs. This section focuses on those 15-16-year-olds who were current regular users of drugs at the time the focus group

was conducted. As the following passages indicate, cannabis was, by some way, the drug that was most regularly used by young people in the study. That this was the case is clear from the following comments of one group of males (School G) all of whom had been cannabis users for three years:

> A: I've been smoking weed (cannabis) since about Year 8 but I do it less now than I used to ... I'll only do it once or twice at the weekend ... before I did it on schooldays as well when I was younger ... I don't do that anymore though.
> B: I'm like him; I only smoke weed at weekends, that's it.
> C: I do, but not all the time ... I'm more occasional than them ... it's only about twice a month now that I do it, when were at a party or something.
> D: [Interrupts] I'm occasional – about twice a month – now as well, but I used to do it quite a lot when I was 14 or 15 ... whenever I had it, which was almost every day.
> E: I only do it at the weekends sometimes; usually it's only twice a month, like every other weekend.
> A: [Interrupts] But I'm not a 'smack head' or anything ... I don't do any hard drugs, only weed.

Another group of males (School F), who had been current users of cannabis for approximately one year prior to the focus group being held, described their experiences of the drug in the following way:

> A: The only drug I do is weed. I wouldn't do pills or anything like that; hard drugs.
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it's only weed that we do, nothing too serious or what can be dangerous to your health.
> C: It's cannabis what we do isn't it? I know some people smoke cannabis every day but if we do it – which is only about once a month – it's at parties when other people have got some and we share it isn't it?
> D: Quite a lot of people do cannabis 'cos you can get it quite easily can't you? ... But it's like (name) said, it's only when we're at parties, where it's offered ... when we'll do it.
> E: [Interrupts] Yeah, but we won't do it all the time will we ... only like about once a month.
> F: Having a spliff is just like sparking up a cigarette isn't it? Lads here don't really see weed as a drug I suppose; it's more like having a cigarette.

These kinds of experiences were similar to those recalled by another group of males (School D) who had first tried cannabis aged 11 and had continued to do so since.

Reflecting on their current and most regular use of the drug, the pattern of which had developed most clearly over the previous two years, this group explained:

> A: I've probably been smoking weed every day or nearly every day since the last two years really, after school mainly.
> B: [Interrupts] And me 'cos I'm usually with him when we do; it's like we need it now, we need to smoke it, like, everyday almost ... you feel lost without it when you don't.
> C: Yeah for some of us, we'll smoke weed during the week.
> D: [Interrupts] I only do it a couple of times in the week; I'm not like them lot who smoke it all the time.
> E: It's not always even that for me, it's not all the time, only a couple of times a month if we're at a party or someone got some when we're out on a Friday.
> F: I'll smoke it mainly during the week with my mates. We just drink at the weekend.

In a not dissimilar way, another group of males who attended the same school rationalized their weekend use of cannabis by juxtaposing the drug with the perceived risks associated with what they regarded as 'hard' drugs (such as ecstasy and cocaine). As they expressed it:

> A: I only smoke weed at the weekends really.
> B: [Interrupts] Yeah, that's the main thing we do isn't it?
> C: There's no needles or pills or 'owt like that; we're not into hard drugs like ecstasy.
> D: [Interrupts] But there's some 'E' and cocaine going around though.
> E: [Interrupts] Yeah, tabbies (ecstasy) get round our age but we don't touch that though do we? We stick to weed; it's safer ... You know where you are with weed.
> F: We don't touch any of that 'E' shit ... weed is the only safe drug.
> G: [Interrupts]. Anything else is classified as a hard drug, that's how most people think.
> D: Yeah, when you're doing weed everyone will look and think 'Oh right' and won't bother but if they see you doing a pill or something it would be different.

Many 15-16-year-olds appear to perceive the risks associated with drugs of one kind or another in hierarchical terms, ranging, on the one hand, from 'softer' drugs such as cannabis that are generally perceived to be of less risk to one's health to, on the other, 'harder' drugs such as ecstasy, cocaine and heroin that are considered to be much

more dangerous. A group of young women from School C described their feelings in the following way:

> A: I do it, marijuana, but it's only like once or twice a month. Nothing serious.
> B: And me, we're usually out together when we do it. We never touch stuff like 'E' which is kind of coming up isn't it for some people ... weed's no way that dangerous.
> A: [Interrupts] It's only like at parties that we'll smoke it or if we're out with the boys and they have got some then we'll do it then as well sometimes.
> C: That's usually at weekends isn't it when we meet up with the lads, but for parties ... they're not as regular ... once a month or less really.
> D: I might do it more than them – a couple of times a month – 'cos I have quite a lot (of friends) who use drugs and both of my close friends do smoke it as well.

Another group of young women (School B) who had been twice-monthly users of cannabis for approximately two years also explained that:

> A: We don't smoke it a lot do we? It's only about twice a month that we do it.
> B: [Interrupts] If we do it, it's usually in the park when we're out getting drunk and we've planned it specially.
> C: [Interrupts] Or at parties if the boys are using it (cannabis), we might do it then if there's some going round, but we don't have parties that often.
> D: The problem is it's not really a 'girly' thing to do is it, to just sit there with a spliff [laughs].
> E: So we don't do it that often do we, not like the lads who do it more.
> F: [Interrupts] But for lots of girls in our year drugs play a *bigger* part in their lives; they tend to do more marijuana than us.

The appeal of using drugs

The final section of this chapter briefly considers the appeal of taking drugs for 15-16-year-olds who were current users and the meanings this has for them, as well as the reasons why some youngsters first used drugs or abstained from using them. In relation to the latter, one group of young women (School B) said:

> A: We did it 'cos of curiosity didn't we really?
> B: Yeah, we were just out with everyone and they had some didn't they? We didn't, like, buy it purposely ... We didn't like it as much (as alcohol) did we really but it made you feel different didn't it?

...
C: I think I would try it if I went out more than I did and was there. *I would try it* (original emphasis)
D: [Interrupts] I wouldn't *at all* (original emphasis)
E: I'd want to know about it. I'd want to try it
F: No I wouldn't. I don't ever want to try it. It looks horrible.

When asked about why they had not continued to use the drug having tried it only once, another group of young women (School E) replied:

A: I didn't bother with it again 'cos it doesn't look good does it? Girls just don't look good smoking weed.
B: It doesn't satisfy me as much as alcohol does; it's not as exciting I don't think.
C: It's not such a good 'buzz' (as alcohol) is it? You didn't get the same 'buzz' like you do with alcohol ... so I've never bothered since.
D: I'm the same; I'd rather get drunk than just stand there smoking weed.
E: It's just crap basically isn't it? I'd rather stick with alcohol.

For young men in the study, those who had tried the drug once but have never used it again offered similar kinds of explanations to those offered by the following group of males (School G) who tried cannabis when aged 15:

A: I just wanted to see what it was like really.
B: [Interrupts] And 'cos everybody else was trying it wasn't they?
C: [Interrupts] Most people did it to see what it was like didn't they and most of them didn't really take to it did they?
D: When I tried it ... it was a weekend when everyone was getting pissed at a party and some was going round so I tried it ... It wasn't as good as beer and it made you feel dead sick so I've never done it since.
E: [Interrupts] That was when I did it as well. I didn't think that it harmed you as much as other drugs like 'E' so I tried it ... I hated the taste of it though – it made you sick – so I've never done it since then!

By comparison, when asked to explain their reasons for using drugs, one group of young males (School C) who were current users of drugs said:

A: You do it 'cos it's something to do don't you?
B: [Interrupts] And 'cos of boredom really isn't it? It's more exciting than just walking round and doing nothing.

C: It gives you a 'buzz' don't it? It's exciting when you think that you're going out and getting stoned?
D: Yeah, it's well exciting ... you enjoy being with your mates don't you who are doing it as well?
E: That's it isn't it? It's like when we're having a kick-about; you're just out with the lads and chilling out.

The significance of excitement and enjoyment – which were among the main reasons why 15-16-year-olds drink alcohol and play sport – was also brought out particularly clearly by one group of male cannabis users (School B) who said that they used drugs because:

A: It gets you high doesn't it ... you forget everything and just relax with your mates.
B: [Interrupts] And 'cos it's a laugh isn't it when you're with your mates?
C: Yeah, 'cos it's all about having a laugh and ... forgetting all your stuff for school.
D: [Interrupts] It's the same reasons for why we play footy isn't it? We enjoy it and it's fun when we do it together.
E: It makes you like, giggle, as well doesn't it?

These kinds of feelings were also expressed by a group of females (School A) who said that:

A: Smoking weed just gets rid of boredom don't it?
B: It gives you a 'buzz' doesn't it? ... It's kind of exciting in a weird way.
C: [Interrupts] But one of the main reasons for why some people smoke weed round here is 'cos its crap, there's fuck all else to do or go except on the streets.
D: [Interrupts] And get wet and cold.
E: So we'll go and get stoned and smoke some spliffs on the weekend or a few times a month for stuff to do and just enjoy ourselves a bit.

Smoking cannabis to provide young people with a 'buzz' was also commented upon positively by another group of young women (School B) who explained:

A: You do it to give you a 'buzz' don't you?
B: [Interrupts] Yeah, it makes me feel a 'buzz' ... but it's better like when we're all out together isn't it?

C: [Interrupts] You enjoy it more when you're out with your friends; it's more of a laugh.
D: It just makes me feel normal and good about myself I suppose; I don't think it really does much else ... you just feel part of everything when you're doing it with your friends 'cos they're doing it as well.
E: And it gets rid of time doesn't it? It goes a lot quicker when you're doing it.

In this regard, it is clear that for those 15-16-year-olds who use them illegal drugs helped youngsters to experiences feelings of excitement and enjoyment in the company of friends, as well as serving to enhance self-confidence and counter the increasing routinization of their lives.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to examine aspects of 15-16-year-olds' involvement in other leisure activities and, in particular, their use of media-oriented and commercialized leisure provisions, as well as their consumption of legal and illegal drugs. In this regard, it was noted that in addition to participating in sport and physical activity in their leisure time, young people's leisure lives were also characterized by involvement in a complex combination of various other – often contradictory – activities, some of which were largely sedentary in nature (such as watching TV, using computers and listening to music). The young people in this study also made regular use of commercialized leisure provisions (including going to pubs/bars, the cinema and shopping), and were involved in what are often considered by some as 'unhealthy' and 'risky' leisure activities (such as drinking alcohol and using illegal drugs). In the light of the data presented in this and previous chapters, the next chapter examines some of the interrelationships between young people's participation in sport and physical activity generally, and between their involvement in leisure sport and other

aspects of leisure, namely, TV viewing, computer use, and consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and illegal drugs.

Chapter Eight

The Interrelationships between Physical Education, Sport and Leisure in Young People's Lives

Introduction

The over-arching aim of this thesis has been to examine young people, sport and leisure 'in the round'. To do so requires an examination of the interdependencies between the various dimensions of young people's lives. The central objective of this chapter is to examine some of the salient interdependencies between 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity in NCPE, extra-curricular PE and their leisure time. The chapter also examines the interrelationships between young people's participation in leisure-sport and physical activity and other aspects of leisure, namely, TV viewing, computer use, and consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and illegal drugs. In doing so, the chapter seeks to establish the interdependencies between the various aspects of young people's lives that are examined in greater detail in Chapter Nine.

The relationship between young people's participation in National Curriculum Physical Education and extra-curricular physical education

The relationship between the number of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds participated in NCPE and the number of sports and physical activities done in extra-curricular PE was highly significant overall (χ^2 =101.8, $p < .0005$), and according to sex (males, χ^2 =59.2, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =63.7, $p < .0005$) and age (15-year-olds, χ^2 =58.5, $p < .0005$; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =42.6, $p < .0005$) (Tables 8.1-8.5). As Table 8.1 indicates, those who participate in the fewest NCPE activities are also far more likely to have participated in no extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months;

indeed, the youngsters in this group were more than twice as likely as those who had participated in a high number of NCPE activities to have done so. Conversely, those who had participated in the most activities in NCPE were over three times more likely than those who had participated in only 1-5 activities to have also participated in 3 or more extra-curricular PE activities in the previous year (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by the total sample in NCPE and the total number of sports done in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE)

Number of Sports Done in PE	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (0)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (1-2)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (3 or more)	Total
Low (1-5)	183	45	25	253
	(33.3)	(19.1)	(11.1)	(25.0)
Moderate (6-12)	296	143	108	547
	(53.9)	(60.9)	(47.8)	(54.2)
High (13-25)	70	47	93	210
	(12.8)	(20.0)	(41.2)	(20.8)
Total	549	235	226	1,010

This pattern of participation was also consistent for the relationship between the involvement of males and females, and those aged 15 and 16, in PE and extra-curricular PE (Tables 8.2-8.5). Males and females who had participated in the fewest activities (1-5) in NCPE were three times more likely and twice as likely, respectively, than those who had been involved in 13-25 PE activities to have not participated in any extra-curricular PE activities. By contrast, those males and females who did 13-25 NCPE activities were three times more likely to participate in 3 or more extra-curricular PE activities than those who were involved in the fewest activities in NCPE (Tables 8.2-8.3).

Table 8.2 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by males in NCPE and the total number of sports done in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE)

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (0)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (1-2)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (3 or more)	Total
Low (1-5)	90	35	19	144
	(39.6)	(26.3)	(13.9)	(29.0)
Moderate (6-12)	110	83	68	261
	(48.9)	(62.4)	(48.9)	(52.5)
High (13-25)	25	15	52	92
	(11.1)	(11.3)	(37.4)	(18.5)
Total	225	133	139	497

Table 8.3 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by females in NCPE and the total number of sports done in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE)

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (0)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (1-2)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (3 or more)	Total
Low (1-5)	92	10	7	109
	(28.6)	(9.8)	(7.8)	(21.2)
Moderate (6-12)	185	60	41	286
	(57.5)	(58.8)	(46.1)	(55.8)
High (13-25)	44	32	42	118
	(13.7)	(31.4)	(47.2)	(23.0)
Total	321	102	90	513

Similarly, 15-year-olds who participated in no extra-curricular PE activities in the past 12 months were three times more likely to have participated in few NCPE activities compared to those who had participated in most NCPE activities. Those who participated in the most NCPE activities, however, were three times more likely than those who did 1-5 activities to have also participated in 3 or more extra-curricular PE activities (Table 8.4). Compared to those who had participated in 13-25 NCPE activities, 16-year-olds who had participated in no sports as part of extra-curricular PE were also twice as likely to have participated in the fewest NCPE activities in the past year, while six times as many youngsters who participated in the highest number of NCPE activities also did 3 or more sports as part of extra-curricular PE (Table 8.5).

Table 8.4 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by 15-year-olds in NCPE and the total number of sports done in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE)

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (0)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (1-2)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (3 or more)	Total
Low (1-5)	120	29	19	168
	(35.5)	(21.3)	(14.7)	(27.9)
Moderate (6-12)	180	83	58	321
	(52.8)	(61.0)	(46.0)	(53.2)
High (13-25)	38	24	52	114
	(11.2)	(17.6)	(40.3)	(18.9)
Total	338	136	129	603

Table 8.5 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by 16-year-olds in NCPE and the total number of sports done in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE)

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (0)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (1-2)	Number of Sports Done in ECPE (3 or more)	Total
Low (1-5)	62	16	7	85
	(29.8)	(16.2)	(7.0)	(20.9)
Moderate (6-12)	116	60	50	226
	(55.8)	(60.6)	(50.0)	(55.5)
High (13-25)	30	23	43	96
	(14.4)	(23.2)	(43.0)	(23.6)
Total	208	99	100	407

The relationship between young people's participation in National Curriculum Physical Education and leisure-sport and physical activity

The relationship between the number of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds participated in NCPE and the number of sports and physical activities they did in their leisure time was also highly significant (χ^2 =59.7, $p < .0005$). Overall, the data indicate that 15-16-year-olds who participated in 10-30 leisure-sports and physical activities were also far more likely to participate in most activities in NCPE (Table 8.6).

Table 8.6 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done by the total sample in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Low (1-5)	109	116	28	253
	(34.7)	(25.1)	(12.0)	(25.0)
Moderate (6-12)	164	259	124	547
	(52.2)	(55.9)	(53.2)	(54.2)
High (13-25)	41	88	81	210
	(13.1)	(19.0)	(34.8)	(20.8)
Total	314	463	345	1010

Similar relationships between the total number of sports and physical activities done in NCPE and the total number of sports and physical activities done in leisure were also observed for sex (males, χ^2 =63.9, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =20.1, $p < .0005$) and for age (15-year-olds, χ^2 =33.0, $p < .0005$; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =30.1, $p < .0005$) (Tables 8.7-8.10). More particularly, males and females who participated in most activities in NCPE were three times more likely than those who did 1-5 NCPE activities to do a high number of leisure sports and physical activities (Tables 8.7-8.8). Conversely, males and females who did few NCPE and leisure activities were five times and twice more likely, respectively, to do so than those who did most activities in NCPE (Tables 8.7-8.8).

Table 8.7 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done by males in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Low (1-5)	53	74	17	144
	(49.1)	(30.7)	(11.5)	(29.0)
Moderate (6-12)	44	137	80	261
	(40.7)	(56.8)	(54.1)	(52.5)
High (13-25)	11	30	51	92
	(10.2)	(12.4)	(34.5)	(18.5)
Total	108	241	148	497

Table 8.8 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done by females in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Low (1-5)	56	42	11	109
	(27.2)	(18.9)	(12.9)	(21.2)
Moderate (6-12)	120	122	44	286
	(58.3)	(55.0)	(51.8)	(55.8)
High (13-25)	30	58	30	118
	(14.6)	(26.1)	(35.3)	(23.0)
Total	206	222	85	513

It was also clear that approximately twice as many 15-year-olds who participated in 10-30 leisure activities also participated in most activities in NCPE, while those who did few NCPE activities were more than three times as likely as those in the who did 13-25 activities in NCPE to do few leisure-sports and physical activities (Table 8.9). It can also be seen from Table 8.10 that 16-year-olds who participated in most NCPE and leisure activities were seven times more likely to do so than those who did 1-5 activities in NCPE. By contrast, approximately twice as many youngsters aged 16 who participated in few NCPE and leisure activities compared to those who did 13-25 activities in NCPE (Table 8.10).

Table 8.9 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done by 15-year-olds in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Low (1-5)	74	71	23	168
	(35.9)	(26.7)	(17.6)	(27.9)
Moderate (6-12)	110	147	64	321
	(53.4)	(55.3)	(48.9)	(53.2)
High (13-25)	22	48	44	114
	(10.7)	(18.0)	(33.6)	(18.9)
Total	206	266	131	603

Table 8.10 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done by 16-year-olds in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Low (1-5)	35	45	5	85
	(32.4)	(22.8)	(4.9)	(20.9)
Moderate (6-12)	54	112	60	226
	(50.0)	(56.9)	(58.8)	(55.5)
High (13-25)	19	40	37	96
	(17.6)	(20.3)	(36.3)	(23.6)
Total	108	197	102	407

A highly significant relationship between the number of sports and physical activities in which young people participated in NCPE and the number of sports and physical activities they did in their leisure time was also observed in four of the schools included in the study (School B, χ^2 =16.8, $p < .0005$; School C, χ^2 =18.2, $p < .0005$; School E, χ^2 =11.5, $p < .022$; School G, χ^2 =28.0, $p < .0005$) (Table 8.11). At School B, for example, those who did few NCPE and leisure activities were far more likely to do so than those who did a moderate or high number of NCPE activities. There were also twice as many 15-16-year-olds who participated in a high number of leisure activities and few NCPE activities than those who did few leisure and NCPE activities (Table 8.11).

Approximately one-half of those who attended School C and who did 6-10 NCPE activities also did a low, moderate and high number of sports in leisure, and similar proportions participated in most leisure and NCPE activities. At School E, those who did a most leisure and NCPE activities were seven times more likely than those who do did few NCPE activities to report doing so. By contrast, those who did few NCPE and leisure activities were twice more likely to do so than those who participated in 13-25 NCPE activities (Table 8.11). Equal proportions of those whom attended

School G and who participated in a low number of leisure activities also did 1-5 and 13-25 NCPE activities, and those who did a high number of leisure and NCPE activities were far more likely to do so than those who did 1-5 NCPE activities (Table 8.11).

Table 8.12 shows the relationship between the number of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds participated in NCPE and leisure and the areas in which each of the schools were located. No significant association was found for those schools located in largely lower-working/working-class regions (Schools A, D and F), but highly significant relationships were observed for those schools situated in areas that were mainly upper-working/lower-middle class (Schools B and E) (χ^2 =21.9, $p < .0005$) and middle-/upper-middle class (Schools C and G) (χ^2 =36.9, $p <$ .0005) in orientation (Table 8.12). In particular, the relationship was especially strong for those schools located in middle-/upper-middle class locations, where over one-half of those who did 10-30 leisure activities also participated in most activities in NCPE, compared to one-quarter and one-fifth of those in lower-working/working-class and upper-working/lower-middle class regions, respectively (Table 8.12). Those youngsters who attended upper-working/lower-middle-class schools were more likely than those who attended schools in middle-/upper-middle-class locations to participate in a low and moderate number of NCPE and leisure activities (Table 8.12). Finally, 15-16-year-olds who attended schools in lower-working/working-class regions were more likely to participate in few NCPE and leisure activities than those in other schools (Table 8.12).

Table 8.11 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure by school

School	Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
A	Low (1-5)	5	4	1	10
		(17.9)	(8.9)	(6.3)	(11.2)
	Moderate (6-12)	14	22	7	43
		(50.0)	(48.9)	(43.8)	(48.3)
	High (13-25)	9	19	8	36
		(32.1)	(42.2)	(50.0)	(40.4)
	Total	28	45	16	89
B	Low (1-5)	31	36	15	82
		(73.8)	(46.8)	(31.3)	(49.1)
	Moderate (6-12)	9	34	26	69
		(21.4)	(44.2)	(54.2)	(41.3)
	High (13-25)	2	7	7	16
		(4.8)	(9.1)	(14.6)	(9.6)
	Total	42	77	48	167
C	Low (1-5)	14	8	1	23
		(27.5)	(11.6)	(2.1)	(13.7)
	Moderate (6-12)	25	40	23	88
		(49.0)	(58.0)	(47.9)	(52.4)
	High (13-25)	12	21	24	57
		(21.1)	(30.4)	(50.0)	(33.9)
	Total	51	69	48	168
D	Low (1-5)	20	22	6	48
		(62.5)	(47.8)	(35.3)	(50.5)
	Moderate (6-12)	12	20	8	40
		(37.5)	(43.5)	(47.1)	(42.1)
	High (13-25)	0	4	3	7
		(0.0)	(8.7)	(17.6)	(7.4)
	Total	32	46	17	95

Table 8.11 (cont.)

School	Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
E	Low (1-5)	14	15	2	31
		(28.6)	(19.0)	(4.4)	(17.9)
	Moderate (6-12)	29	50	30	109
		(59.2)	(63.3)	(66.7)	(63.0)
	High (13-25)	6	14	13	33
		(12.2)	(17.7)	(28.9)	(19.1)
	Total	49	79	45	
F	Low (1-5)	18	14	2	34
		(30.5)	(24.6)	(13.3)	(26.0)
	Moderate (6-12)	36	38	11	85
		(61.0)	(66.7)	(12.9)	(64.9)
	High (13-25)	5	5	2	12
		(8.5)	(8.8)	(13.3)	(9.2)
	Total	59	57	15	131
G	Low (1-5)	7	17	1	25
		(13.2)	(68.0)	(2.3)	(13.4)
	Moderate (6-12)	39	55	19	113
		(73.6)	(48.7)	(43.2)	(60.4)
	High (13-25)	7	18	24	49
		(13.2)	(36.7)	(54.5)	(26.2)
	Total	53	90	44	187

Table 8.12 Relationship between the total number of sports (%) done in NCPE and the total number of sports done in leisure by school location

School Location	Number of Sports Done in NCPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
Lower-working/ Working class	Low (1-5)	43	40	9	92
		(36.1)	(27.0)	(18.8)	(29.2)
	Moderate (6-12)	62	80	26	168
		(52.1)	(54.1)	(54.2)	(53.3)
	High (13-25)	14	28	13	55
		(11.8)	(18.9)	(27.1)	(17.5)
	Total	119	148	48	315
Upper-working/ Lower middle class	Low (1-5)	45	51	17	113
		(49.5)	(32.7)	(18.3)	(33.2)
	Moderate (6-12)	38	84	56	178
		(41.8)	(53.8)	(60.2)	(52.4)
	High (13-25)	8	21	20	49
		(8.8)	(13.5)	(21.5)	(14.4)
	Total	91	156	93	340
Middle/ Upper-middle class	Low (1-5)	21	25	2	48
		(20.2)	(15.7)	(2.2)	(13.5)
	Moderate (6-12)	64	95	42	201
		(31.8)	(59.7)	(45.7)	(56.6)
	High (13-25)	19	39	48	106
		(18.3)	(24.5)	(52.2)	(29.9)
	Total	104	159	92	355

The relationship between young people's participation in extra-curricular physical education and leisure-sport and physical activity

The relationship between the total number of sports and physical activities done in extra-curricular PE and leisure was significant overall (χ^2 =21.8, $p < .0005$) (Table 8.13), and according to sex (males, χ^2 =20.7, $p < .0005$; females, χ^2 =15.7, $p < .003$) (Tables 8.14-8.15), and age (15-year-olds; χ^2 =19.2, $p < .001$) (Table 8.16). The general pattern indicated by the data was that males and females who did 10-30 leisure activities were more likely than any other group to report not participating in extra-curricular PE. Conversely, there were four times as many males and females who participated in few leisure activities and no extra-curricular PE activities than there were males and females who did 3 or more activities in extra-curricular PE and 0-3 leisure-sports and physical activities (Tables 8.14-8.15).

Table 8.13 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by the total sample in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE) and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in ECPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
0	122	237	187	546
	(60.4)	(51.2)	(53.7)	(54.1)
1-2	54	120	63	235
	(26.7)	(25.9)	(18.1)	(23.3)
3 or more	26	106	95	226
	(12.9)	(22.9)	(27.3)	(22.4)
Total	200	463	348	1,010

Table 8.14 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by males in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE) and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in ECPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
0	47	112	66	225
	(56.6)	(47.1)	(38.2)	(45.3)
1-2	25	69	40	133
	(30.1)	(29.0)	(23.1)	(26.8)
3 or more	11	60	67	137
	(13.3)	(25.2)	(38.7)	(27.6)
Total	83	238	173	497

Table 8.15 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by females in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE) and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in ECPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
0	75	122	124	321
	(63.0)	(55.2)	(72.1)	(62.6)
1-2	29	52	21	102
	(24.4)	(23.4)	(12.2)	(19.9)
3 or more	15	47	27	89
	(12.6)	(21.2)	(15.7)	(17.3)
Total	119	221	172	513

In terms of age-related differences, there were twice as many 15-year-olds who participated in four or more leisure activities and no extra-curricular PE activities than there were 15-year-olds who did 3 or more extra-curricular activities and four or more leisure-sports (Table 8.16). Table 8.17 also shows that similar, although statistically non-significant, differences were found for 16-year-olds, with the main exception being that there were twice as many youngsters who participated in few leisure activities and no extra-curricular PE activities than there were 16-year-olds who did 3 or more extra-curricular activities and 0-3 leisure activities.

Table 8.16 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by 15-year-olds in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE) and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in ECPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
0	85	138	115	338
	(65.4)	(51.3)	(56.4)	(56.1)
1-2	34	67	36	136
	(26.2)	(24.9)	(17.6)	(22.6)
3 or more	11	64	53	126
	(8.5)	(23.8)	(26.0)	(20.9)
Total	130	269	204	603

Table 8.17 Relationship between the total number (%) of sports done by 16-year-olds in extra-curricular physical education (ECPE) and the total number of sports done in leisure

Number of Sports Done in ECPE	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Low 0-3)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (Moderate 4-9)	Number of Sports Done in Leisure (High 10-30)	Total
0	37	99	72	208
	(51.4)	(50.3)	(52.2)	(51.1)
1-2	20	54	25	99
	(27.8)	(27.4)	(18.1)	(24.3)
3 or more	15	44	41	100
	(20.8)	(22.3)	(29.7)	(24.6)
Total	72	197	138	407

The relationship between young people's weekly participation in leisure-sport and physical activity, television viewing and computer use

Television viewing

No significant associations overall, and according to sex, age and school were observed between young people's weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent watching TV, videos and DVDs on a school day and at the weekend (Tables G1-10 in Appendix G). The relationship between weekly participation in leisure-sport and physical activity and the amount of time devoted to watching live professional sport on TV each week, however, was highly significant overall ($\chi^2 = 74.6$, $p < .0005$), for males ($\chi^2 = 20.9$, $p < .002$) and for age (15-year-olds,

χ^2 =44.8, p < .0005; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =35.0, p < .0005). Overall, it was clear that those young people who participated three or more times each week in leisure-sport and physical activity were more likely to spend more time watching live professional sport on TV each week. For example, as Table 8.18 indicates, 83% of those 15-16-year-olds who reported watching sport 4-9 hours each week also participated in leisure-sport and physical activity three or more times each week, and 97% claimed to watch 10 or more hours of televised sport as well participating in leisure-sport this frequently. These patterns were also found among males, 89% of whom reported watching live sport 4-9 hours each week as well as participating in leisure-sport and physical activity three or more times per week. A similar proportion (87%) of 15-16-year-old males claimed to participate in sport and physical activity this frequently in their leisure time whilst also watching live sport on TV 10 or more hours each week (Table 8.19).

Table 8.18 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by the total sample watching live professional sport on TV each week (n and %)

Frequency of leisure sport- and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10 or more hrs	Total
No participation	109	4	0	113
	(13.9)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(11.2)
1-2 times per week	227	28	4	259
	(28.8)	(14.7)	(12.5)	(25.6)
3-4 times per week	267	66	14	347
	(33.9)	(34.6)	(43.8)	(34.4)
5 or more times per week	184	93	14	291
	(23.4)	(48.7)	(43.8)	(28.8)
Total	787	191	32	1,010

Table 8.19 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by males watching live professional sport on TV each week (n and %)

Frequency of leisure sport- and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10 or more hrs	Total
No participation	23	2	0	25
	(7.3)	(1.3)	(0.0)	(5.0)
1-2 times per week	58	15	4	77
	(18.5)	(9.9)	(12.9)	(15.5)
3-4 times per week	117	54	13	184
	(37.3)	(35.5)	(41.9)	(37.0)
5 or more times per week	116	81	14	211
	(36.9)	(53.3)	(45.2)	(42.5)
Total	314	152	31	497

In terms of age-related differences, over three-quarters of 15-year-olds who reported spending 10 hours or more watching live sport on TV each week also participated in leisure-sport and physical activity three or more times per week, and approximately seven-in-ten 15-year-olds who spent 4-9 hours watching live sport each week also reported participating three or more times in leisure-sport and physical activity each week (Table 8.20). As Table 8.21 shows, similar patterns were also apparent among the older age group, with 87% of 16-year-olds reporting that they participated three or more times in leisure-sport and physical activity as well as watching sport on TV for 4-9 hours each week.

Table 8.20 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 15-year-olds watching live professional sport on TV each week (n and %)

Frequency of leisure sport- and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10 or more hrs	Total
No participation	74	3	0	77
	(15.7)	(2.6)	(0.0)	(12.8)
1-2 times per week	137	19	4	99
	(29.1)	(16.7)	(22.2)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	156	38	5	148
	(33.1)	(33.3)	(27.8)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	104	54	9	124
	(22.1)	(47.4)	(50.0)	(30.5)
Total	471	114	18	603

Table 8.21 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 16-year-olds watching live professional sport on TV each week (n and %)

Frequency of leisure sport- and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10 or more hrs	Total
No participation	35	1	0	36
	(11.1)	(1.3)	(0.0)	(8.8)
1-2 times per week	90	9	0	99
	(28.5)	(11.7)	(0.0)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	111	28	9	148
	(35.1)	(36.4)	(64.3)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	80	39	5	124
	(25.3)	(50.6)	(35.7)	(30.5)
Total	316	77	14	407

Computer use

The relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and computer use on a school day was highly significant overall (χ^2 =45.7, $p < .0005$), and for 15-year-olds (χ^2 =35.6, $p < .0005$), with the general pattern being the more frequent the leisure-sport and physical activity participation is, the more time likely to be spent playing computer games and using the Internet and email for things other than homework. For example, it is evident from Table 8.22 that over seven-in-ten young people who reported spending 4-6 hours or 7 or more hours playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework on a school day also participated in leisure-sport and physical activity three or more times each week. This pattern was also found for 15-year-olds, approximately four-fifths (79%) of whom claimed to allocate 4-6 hours or 7 or more hours to non-school related computer use on a school day as well participating in leisure-sport and physical activity three or more times per week (Table 8.23). No other sex-, school- or age-related patterns were observed.

Table 8.22 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by the total sample playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework on a school day (n and %)

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 hrs or more	Total
No participation	66	32	7	8	113
	(17.7)	(7.9)	(4.5)	(10.1)	(11.2)
1-2 times per week	103	112	35	9	259
	(27.7)	(27.8)	(22.4)	(11.4)	(25.6)
3-4 times per week	121	135	60	31	347
	(32.5)	(33.5)	(38.5)	(39.2)	(34.4)
5 or more times per week	82	124	54	31	291
	(22.6)	(30.8)	(34.6)	(39.2)	(28.8)
Total	372	403	156	79	1,010

Table 8.23 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 15-year-olds playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework on a school day (n and %)

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 hrs or more	Total
No participation	46	21	2	8	77
	(20.0)	(8.8)	(2.3)	(17.8)	(12.8)
1-2 times per week	62	73	19	6	99
	(27.0)	(30.4)	(21.6)	(13.3)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	74	76	35	14	148
	(32.2)	(31.7)	(39.8)	(31.1)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	48	70	32	17	124
	(20.9)	(29.2)	(36.4)	(37.8)	(30.5)
Total	230	240	88	45	603

Reflecting the relationship between weekly involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity and computer use on a week day, significant associations were also found regarding the use of computer games and the Internet and email for things other than homework at the weekend, both for the sample overall (χ^2 =53.8, $p < .0005$), and for age (15-year-olds, χ^2 =32.5, $p < .0005$; 16-year-olds, χ^2 =30.0, $p < .0005$), but not according to sex or the school attended. As Table 8.24 indicates, the non-participants or young people who participated 1-2 times per week (26%) in leisure-sport and physical activity were approximately three times less likely than those who were

involved three or more times more per week (74%) to allocate 11 hours or more to non-school related computer use at the weekend. Those who claimed to participate in sport and physical activity three or more times in their leisure time were also significantly more likely than the less frequent participants to report spending 1-6 hours and 7-11 hours each week on non-school related computer use at the weekend (Table 8.24).

Table 8.24 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by the total sample playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework at the weekend (n and %)

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-6 hrs	7-11 hrs	11 hrs or more	Total
No participation	60	42	6	5	113
	(19.0)	(8.0)	(4.7)	(11.9)	(11.2)
1-2 times per week	100	130	23	6	259
	(31.7)	(24.8)	(18.0)	(14.3)	(25.6)
3-4 times per week	89	189	54	15	347
	(28.3)	(36.0)	(42.2)	(35.7)	(34.4)
5 or more times per week	66	164	45	16	291
	(21.0)	(31.2)	(35.2)	(38.1)	(28.8)
Total	315	525	128	42	1,010

These patterns were also reflected in the non-school related use of computers by 15- and 16-year-olds at weekends (Tables 8.25 and 8.26). Amongst the 15-year-olds, those who allocated 7-11 hours or 11 hours or more to non-school related computer use at weekends were also significantly more likely to have participated three or more times per week in leisure-sport and physical activity than the other groups (Table 8.25). Similarly, 15-year-olds who participated 3 times per week or more were twice as likely as the less frequent participants to spend 1-6 hours using computers for non-school means at weekends (Table 8.25). The most frequent participants in leisure-sport and physical activity were as likely as the non-participants to allocate less than 1 hour or no time at all to computer use at weekends, but both groups were less likely to

do so when compared to those who participated 1-2 or 3-4 times per week (Table 8.25).

Table 8.25 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 15-year-olds playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework at the weekend (n and %)

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-6 hrs	7-11 hrs	11 hrs or more	Total
No participation	42	28	3	4	77
	(22.0)	(9.0)	(4.1)	(14.3)	(12.8)
1-2 times per week	57	81	18	4	99
	(29.8)	(26.1)	(24.3)	(14.3)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	53	110	25	11	148
	(27.7)	(35.5)	(33.8)	(39.3)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	39	91	28	9	124
	(20.4)	(29.4)	(37.8)	(32.1)	(30.5)
Total	191	310	74	28	603

Reflecting these tendencies, Table 8.26 indicates 16-year-olds who participated three or more times per week in leisure-sport and physical activity and allocated 7-11 hours at the weekend to non-school related computer use (85%) were far more likely than any of the other participants to report doing so. In addition, those youngsters aged 16 who participated three times or more per week and allocated 1-6 hours to non-school related computer use at the weekend were approximately six times more likely to do so than the non-participants (Table 8.26).

Table 8.26 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 16-year-olds playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework at the weekend (n and %)

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-6 hrs	7-11 hrs	11 hrs or more	Total
No participation	18	14	3	1	36
	(14.5)	(6.5)	(5.6)	(7.1)	(8.8)
1-2 times per week	43	49	5	2	99
	(34.7)	(22.8)	(9.3)	(14.3)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	36	79	29	4	148
	(29.0)	(36.7)	(53.7)	(28.6)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	27	73	17	7	124
	(21.8)	(34.0)	(31.5)	(50.0)	(30.5)
Total	124	215	54	14	407

In this regard, the data indicate that participating in leisure-sport and physical activity was not strongly associated with the time 15-16-year-olds claimed to spend either watching TV or using computers for non-school purposes. Thus, while watching TV and using computers (especially for males) were popular leisure activities among 15-16-year-olds, these pursuits did not displace their involvement in more physically active leisure activities such as participating in sport and physical activity. Rather, there appeared to be time for all of these things in the lives of young people.

The relationship between young people's weekly participation in leisure-sport and physical activity and use of legal and illegal drugs

It was also clear from the data generated by the questionnaires that no significant associations existed between 15-16-year-olds' weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and their frequency of alcohol consumption, the amount of alcoholic beverages consumed and between their prevalence of smoking and the number of cigarettes consumed. Similarly, no significant associations were observed between leisure-sport and physical activity participation and use of illegal drugs ever,

in the past month and in the past week, as well as between the frequency of illegal drug use.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the interrelationships between 15-16-year-olds' participation in sport and physical activity in NCPE, extra-curricular PE and leisure, and between their weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and other aspects of leisure. In particular, the chapter indicated that those 15-16-year-olds who participated in most NCPE activities were also far more likely to have participated in 3 or more extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months, whilst those who reported participating in a high number of leisure sports and physical activities were also more likely to report doing most NCPE activities too. The relationship between the number of sports and physical activities in which 15-16-year-olds participated in NCPE and the number of sports and physical activities they did in their leisure time, however, was significantly related to social class, with those attending schools in middle-/upper-middle-class areas being significantly more likely to participate in most NCPE activities and a high number of leisure-sports and physical activities. By contrast, 15-16-year-olds who attended schools in lower-working/working-class regions were more likely to participate in few NCPE and leisure activities than those attending other schools.

The chapter also revealed that more sedentary media-oriented leisure activities such as watching TV and using computers which were popular among 15-16-year-olds did not prevent them from participating in leisure-sport and physical activity. Rather, those young people who participated three or more times in leisure-sport and physical

activity each week, in particular, were more likely to allocate longer amounts of time to watching sport on TV and non-school related computer use than those who did so less frequently or who did not participate at all. It was also clear that whilst not associated in a statistically significant way, weekly participation in leisure-sport and physical activity also did not prevent some 15-16-year-olds from consuming alcohol consumption, smoking cigarettes and using illegal drugs.

In the light of these findings and those presented in the preceding four chapters, the next chapter attempts to outline how the interdependencies between the various dimensions of young people's sporting lives and, in particular, between their involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity and other aspects of their leisure can be best explained sociologically.

Chapter Nine

A Sociological Perspective on the Place of Sport and Physical Activity in Young People's Lives

Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to outline how the data presented in the preceding four chapters help to answer the central sociological questions addressed in this thesis, namely, what is the place of sport and physical activity in the lives of 15-16-year-olds, what are the distinguishing features of their PE, sporting and leisure lives, how is this best explained sociologically, and what do the findings add to, and tell us about, existing commentaries and explanations?

The first part of the chapter discusses the main findings of the study in terms of young people's participation in sport and physical activity in NCPE, extra-curricular PE and leisure, their involvement in various other leisure activities, and the interrelationships between each of these areas of young people's lives. In doing so, it compares and contrasts the findings from this study with the wider literature on the sporting and leisure lives of young people.

Starting from the premise that it is only possible to understand adequately where sport and physical activity fit into young people's lives by locating them within the various figurations to which they have belonged in the past, and which they continue to form in the present, the second part of the chapter offers the beginnings of a figurational sociological explanation of young people's sporting and leisure lives.

The final section of the chapter explores what light the findings from the study might throw upon existing explanations of the relationship between young people, sport and leisure as a prelude to the conclusion of the thesis.

Young people's sporting lives: National Curriculum Physical Education

The data from this study confirm claims made elsewhere that almost all young people participate in sport and physical activity via NCPE both occasionally and frequently (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Green, 2004; Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 2004; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004; SCW, 2001, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a, 2003b). Indeed, the participation levels of 15-16-year-olds in this study were similar to those of young people nationally in England and Wales, where almost all secondary-aged youngsters were involved on an occasional basis, and over four-fifths in England and nine-in-ten in Wales participated in some sports and physical activities on a frequent basis as part of NCPE during 2002 and 2001 (SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a). Consistent with these findings, the data from this study also indicate that female 15-16-year-olds were more likely than males to report participating in various NCPE activities occasionally and to participate in a wider range of activities when doing so. The opposite was true in relation to frequent participation in NCPE (SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a). The average number of sport and physical activities in which young males and females in the present study reported participating in frequently in NCPE was three and two, respectively, whilst males and females nationally in England are said to be involved in three sports and physical activities on average as part of NCPE (Sport England, 2003a).

It was also clear that the kinds of activities in which males and females participated, and the proportions participating, were heavily gendered (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Green, 2000a, 2003; Kirk, 1992, 2002, 2003; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Scraton, 1992; Sport England, 2003a; Waddington *et al.*, 1998). As in the recent studies by Sport England (2003a) and SCW (2003a), this was particularly the case in relation to frequent participation in 'traditional' sports – especially competitive team games – that young people experienced as part of NCPE. In this regard, males were more likely to report participating frequently in sports such as football, basketball, cricket and rugby union, whilst females were more likely to report frequent participation in activities such as netball, hockey, dance and aerobics. These differences were rather less pronounced in relation to frequent participation in lifestyle activities such as badminton, tennis, multi-gym/fitness and squash, all of which were unrelated to gender, whereas amongst the 14-16-year-olds in Sport England's (2003a) study, females were more likely than males to have reported frequent participation in these kinds of activities.

The data from the present study indicate that, whilst young people's NCPE participatory profiles tended to be dominated by traditional team games, these sports featured *alongside* a number of other partner sports and individualized lifestyle activities in the NCPE curricula provided for them (Coalter, 1996, 1999, 2004; Green, 2004; Green *et al.*, 2005a). In this regard, supporting views expressed elsewhere (Green *et al.*, 2005; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; SCW, 2003a; Sport England, 2003a), the current data suggest that the PE curricula offered by teachers featured a range of sports and physical activities that were broader and more diverse than those PE programmes on offer in schools in England and Wales in previous decades, and

especially when compared to those offered by schools around the time that the Wolfenden Report was published (CCPR, 1960).

The data generated by the focus groups also provided further support for the claim that, in the later years of secondary schooling, PE teachers tend to provide young people with a greater degree of activity choice in an attempt, amongst other things, to increase participation levels in PE (as well as in later-life) – by making the subject more enjoyable, leisure-oriented and, in effect, more recreational (Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Scraton, 1992). One of the ways in which they appear to have achieved this with the 15-16-year-olds in the study was by giving curricular PE in particular (but also extra-curricular PE) some of the features of leisure-sport. In this regard, almost all the young people in the study supported the substantial shift towards the provision of greater activity choice – that characterizes so-called 'option-PE' or 'activity choice' – at KS4, not least because these lessons were more fun and tended to resemble more closely the recreational forms of leisure-sport involvement in which they were able to choose what they wanted to do, with whom they liked, whenever and wherever they wanted (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Smith and Parr, 2007).

The data suggest that some young people were dissatisfied with what they saw as the over-representation of a small number of traditional team sports and activities in NCPE (see, for example, Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; MacPhail *et al.*, 2003; Penney and Chandler, 2000). Others, however, claimed that it was the degree of activity choice that they were afforded by teachers at KS4 that they found particularly attractive, rather than the traditional sport-based curriculum often provided for them (Smith and Parr, 2007). It was clear that the young people in this study preferred

'option-PE' because they viewed it as being more congruent with their *actual* present-day sporting and lifestyle preferences that, to a greater or lesser degree, matched their leisure-sport and physical activity tendencies (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Smith and Parr, 2007).

That said, as Flintoff and Scraton (2001) observed in relation to the young women in their study, it is noteworthy that while the pupils strongly supported the provision of a greater choice of activities as part of core PE curricula during KS4, 'in practice this was limited – because of the nature of the activities on offer, but also because of the context and environment in which these were offered' (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001: 11). Indeed, it was clear from the present study that the degree of activity choice available to pupils was greater for males than females and for those in schools that tended to attract pupils from the higher social classes, but was simultaneously constrained by peers and teachers (in terms of their preferences), as well as by the facilities available in schools.

Young people's sporting lives: extra-curricular physical education

In relation to young people's involvement in extra-curricular PE, the proportion of young people overall (46%), and of males (55%) and females (37%), who reported participating during the last 12 months was consistent with the findings of Daley's (2002) study where 49% of young people had reported participating in extra-curricular PE. It was, however, significantly lower than those of males (72%) and females (53%) aged 15 and 16 in Wales (SCW, 2003a) and higher than that reported by 14-16-year-olds (36% overall; 36% males; 35% females) in Sport England's (2003a) most recent national survey. In line with the findings of each of these and

other studies (Bass and Cale, 1999; Cale, 2000), more males than females reported participating in extra-curricular PE in the past 12 months and also on a weekly basis, and males were more likely to spend more time doing so, whilst, when they participated in extra-curricular PE, both males and females were most likely to report participating on one or two days per week. The average number of sports and physical activities in which young males and females in the present study reported participating frequently in extra-curricular PE (both equal to one) was, however, lower than those 15- and 16-year-old males and females (approximately three sports and physical activities) nationally in Wales (SCW, 2003a). It was also lower than those in Years 10-11 in England, where males and females were reported as frequently participating in five and four sports and physical activities, respectively, 'out of lessons' (Sport England, 2003a).

Whilst there has, over the last decade or so, been a growth in provision and participation in extra-curricular PE, alongside a growing diversification in the variety of activities on offer to school-aged young people (Green, 2005), team-based competitive sports continue to dominate the extra-curricular participatory profiles of youngsters in this study. In this regard, the competitive and typically gendered and stereotypical team sports in which the young people in this study frequently participated – such as football, basketball and rugby union for males, and netball, hockey and rounders for females – also featured amongst the most popular extra-curricular PE activities done by young people in several other studies (Bass and Cale, 1999; Cale, 2000; Daley, 2002; Green, 2000b; Penney and Harris, 1997; Sport England, 2003a; SCW, 2003a). Notwithstanding this tendency, as in other studies, a smaller number of more recreational partner sports (such as tennis) and individualized

activities (such as multi-gym/fitness, badminton and dance) also featured in the extra-curricular participatory profiles of some youngsters (Sport England, 2003a; SCW, 2003a).

Although it is clear that the data from the present study confirm many of the observations made by Sport England (2003a) and the SCW (2003a), in relation to trends in young people's participation in NCPE and extra-curricular PE, none of the aforementioned studies distinguish between, nor account for, any potentially salient school-related differences. The findings of this study suggest, however, that the rates of participation, range, kinds and blend of sports and physical activities in which males and females were involved in NCPE and extra-curricular PE often varied considerably between schools. It was also clear that the various sex-related differences in participation that were observed also varied between the schools included in the study. In these ways, the findings of this study reveal more about the complexities of young people's participation in NCPE and extra-curricular PE than has been provided hitherto.

Young people's sporting lives: leisure-sport and physical activity

It was noted in Chapter One that little systematically-collected data exist on the levels, forms and range of participation in leisure-sport and physical activities of 15- and 16-year-old young people in England. Despite this dearth, a common sense view prevails among the media, government, sporting bodies and, indeed, among the general public, to the effect that few teenagers participate in sport and physical activity in their leisure time (see, for example, BHF, 2004; Campbell, 2005; Campbell *et al.*, 2005; DNH, 1995; DCMS, 2000; DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; France, 2005; ISRG, 2005).

Contrary to this somewhat mythical and uncritical view, the data from this study indicate that whilst approximately one-in-ten youngsters did very little or no sport and physical activity in their leisure time, many young people aged 15-16-years-old *did* participate. This is in line with the findings of other studies (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Coalter, 1999, 2004; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Green, 2004; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 2004; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002, 2005a, 2005b; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith *et al.*, 2004; Sport England, 2003a; Telama *et al.*, 2002).

It was also apparent that young people's levels of participation in sport and physical activity in their leisure time were differentially located along a bell-shaped curve (Roberts, 1996a) or continuum stretching between, at one end, a minority of youngsters who demonstrated high frequencies of participation both relatively and absolutely and, at the other, a minority who do relatively little or nothing each week, with most youngsters participating towards the middle. More specifically, the data revealed that 15- and 16-year-old males were significantly more likely than females to have reported participating in leisure-sport and physical activity and, when they did so, males tended to do more sports and physical activities, more frequently, and spent more time doing them than females.

In the light of the widespread taken-for-granted assumptions about the relationship between school sport and young people's leisure, the findings from this study were particularly interesting in relation to the effects of school and PE on participation in leisure-sport and physical activity. In part, the data from this study reinforce findings elsewhere which suggest that the relationship between school and leisure participation

in sport is weak (Flintoff, 2005; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; MacPhail *et al.*, 2003). Negative experiences of PE do not, for example, put all young people off as is widely-assumed nor, for that matter, do positive experiences provide any kind of guarantee that young people will engage with sport and physical activity in their leisure-time. There appears, in effect, to be a degree of independence in the lives of 15-16-year-olds where leisure-sport and physical activity is concerned. Whilst in the context of PE young people are introduced to and are offered further experience of particular sports, the involvement of some young people in leisure-sport sometimes appears to occur despite, rather than because of it.

This having been said, the data from this study highlight that the relationships between school PE and leisure-sport and physical activity participation are more complex than those outlined in these explanations. Indeed, although no significant school-related differences were found in relation to participation in sport and physical activity generally, there were highly significant relationships between the numbers and forms of sports and physical activities that the 15-16-year-olds took part in frequently in PE and their leisure. Despite the school-related differences in the median number of sports and physical activities in which young people were involved as part of NCPE, no significant relationships were observed between schools in terms of the total number of sports done by youngsters in NCPE and extra-curricular PE. Highly significant associations between the total number of leisure-sports and physical activities and the total number of activities done as part of NCPE were observed however, with the general pattern being that 15-16-year-olds who participated in 10-30 leisure-sports and physical activities were also far more likely to participate in most activities in NCPE. This tendency was strongly related to the school which 15-

16-year-olds attended, with those attending schools located in upper-working/lower-middle class and middle-/upper-middle class regions being more likely to report doing so. By contrast, 15-16-year-olds who attended schools located in lower-working-/working-class areas were more likely to participate in fewer sports and physical activities in NCPE and leisure. In this regard, it was clear that – notwithstanding the median number of sports and physical activities that were provided by all schools via NCPE programmes – the differential impact this had upon the number of sports and physical activities young people did in their leisure was strongly class-related. This, it should be noted, was equally apparent for those youngsters who attended SSCs, one of which was located in a lower-working/working class area (School F), and the other in a middle-/upper-middle class region (School G). At the SSC located in middle-class neighbourhoods, males did seven sports and females eight sports on average in NCPE, compared to five and four respectively at School F located in a working class neighbourhood. Thus, it seemed that it was not so much the range of sports and physical activities 15-16-year-olds experienced at school that had the biggest impact upon the number of activities they did in their leisure, but their social class background that was more significant.

These differences notwithstanding, and whilst there were clear sex differences both in terms of the activities in which they claimed to be involved and the frequency of involvement (see Chapter Six), the most widely- and frequently-played sports and physical activities among 15-16-year-olds were consistent with those reported nationally in England (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 2004; Sport England, 2003a) and elsewhere in Europe (De Knop and De Martelear, 2001; Roberts, 2004; Scheerder *et al.*, 2002, Scheerder *et al.*, 2005a; Scheerder *et al.*, 2005b; Telama

et al., 2002). Among males, for example, football (including kick-about, 5- and 11-a-side), pool, swimming, snooker/billiards, cycling, darts, walking and multi-gym/fitness were the most frequent physical activities, whilst for females, swimming, walking, multi-gym/fitness, pool, cycling, football (kick-about), running/jogging, aerobics, ten-pin bowling and dance were the most widely-played leisure activities. As such, the leisure involvement of the young people in this study was characterized by a blend of highly-individualized, commercialized and often body-image-oriented lifestyle physical activities that tended to be self-organized and pursued more recreationally, often on a pay-as-you-go basis, at public and private facilities such as a sports/leisure centre or mechanized gymnasium/fitness club.

Despite the popularity of these kinds of activities (ones that seem more congruent with young people's increasingly individualized lifestyle preferences than the stronger commitment involved in club membership), club and team sports remained popular among many 15-16-year-olds (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Green, 2002, 2003, 2004; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 2004). Reflecting young people's participation in club-sport nationally, males were more likely than females to be members of sports clubs. They were also more likely to play sports such as football, cricket, rugby union, rugby league and golf at those clubs (SCW, 2003b; Sport England, 2003a). Females were more likely to attend clubs that offered swimming, gymnastics and dance in female-only settings (Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; SCW, 2003b; Sport England, 2003a). In this regard, the findings of this study were consistent with Coalter's (2004: 80) observation that although 'sport makes a relatively limited contribution, it is clear that individualistic and flexible activities dominate' the leisure-sport and physical activity lifestyles of young people. The findings also illustrate the complexity and diversity of

young people's participation in sport and physical activity in their leisure time and, in that respect, do not support simplistic assumptions about, not only the kinds of activities in which males and females are involved, but also the nature and form that participation takes. In short, the participation of 15-16-year-olds in sport and physical activity in- and out-of-school cannot adequately be portrayed in the dichotomous terms that comparisons between competitive sport and recreational activities, formal (club-based) and informal (pay-as-you play), team games and lifestyle sports imply.

Finally, when asked why they participated in leisure-sport and physical activity, similar proportions of males and females in this study – like those aged 11-16 in England (Sport England, 2003a) – stated that they did so because they enjoyed it and to improve health and keep fit. Those in the present study, however, were significantly more likely than 11-16-year-olds in England (Sport England, 2003a) to report participating because it allowed them to be with their friends, often in more informal contexts, whilst doing things that they themselves had chosen (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Cox *et al.*, 2006). The importance of being with mates and 'having a laugh' revealed the central value that young people placed upon sociability and excitement – an orientation that lies at the heart of all their leisure experiences. The data reflect claims that sport and leisure provide enclaves for young people to engage – with varying degrees of formality and intimacy – in social contexts that enable them to develop their *own* tastes, by doing the things *they* want to do and with *whom* they want to do them (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Cox *et al.*, 2006; Coakley and White, 1992; Coalter, 1999, 2004; Flintoff and Scraton, 2001; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Green, 2002a, 2003, 2004, 2005; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2004; Smith and Parr, 2007). It is also important to note that when asked about why they did not do

more or any sport or physical activity in their leisure time, the young people in this study were more likely than those in Sport England's (2003a) latest study to suggest that this was because they preferred to do *other* things in their leisure time. As noted below, sport was just one thing that had to be balanced among many other leisure activities in the lives of 15-16-year-olds.

In line with findings from national and regional surveys, the study demonstrates the continued relevance of a number of sociological commentaries (see, for example, Coalter, 1999, 2004; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2004; Sport England, 2003a, 2003b) on children and young people to a cohort of 15-16-year-olds commonly viewed as turning their backs on sport in ever-increasing numbers. In particular it demonstrates the relatively high rates of participation (in absolute and relative terms) in, and appeal of, sport and physical activity among 15-16-year-olds as well as their perception of themselves as 'sporty'; that is to say, actively engaging with sport and physical activity.

Along with the findings from other national and regional surveys of children and young people, the quite distinct patterns and forms of leisure-sport involvement of 15-16 year olds in the present study reflected – in degrees of mismatch between the kinds of activities pupils experience as part of PE and their current leisure involvement, as well as the kinds of activities they perceived themselves as doing in later life (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Roberts, 1996a) – the relative autonomy of their leisure lives.

Young people's non-sporting leisure lives

In the same way that young people have not neglected sport and physical activity in their leisure lives, neither do they participate in sport and physical activity to the exclusion of engaging in what they perceive as other equally, if not more, important leisure activities – activities that are indicative of their highly-individualized lifestyle preferences (Coalter, 1999, 2004; Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2004; Roberts and Brodie, 1992; Smith and Green, 2005). In particular, the data revealed that in addition to participation in sport and physical activity, many 15-16-year-olds' home-centred, privatized leisure lifestyles were also characterized by regular engagement with various forms of electronic media. Confirming the findings of previous studies (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; HEA, 1999; Livingstone, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2004; Roberts, 2004; WHO, 2002), TV viewing and listening to music, in particular, were reported as being among the most prevalent sex- and age-independent universal leisure activities, while non-school related computer-use and video game-playing were also popular leisure activities, especially among males. Indeed, despite the considerable developments in the range of media available to young people in recent years, TV and music – both of which were often used to fill 'boring' times in the day or as a backdrop to other home-based activities (Livingstone, 2002; Roberts, 1999, 2004) – were the media most widely used by youngsters on a daily basis, with 'newer' forms of media (such as computer games, DVDs, PCs and the Internet) adding to the repertoire of leisure activities reported as being popular among young people (Karvonen *et al.*, 2001; Livingstone, 2002; Roberts, 2004; Shilling, 2005; Sweeting and West, 2003).

It was also clear from the focus groups, however, that although their lifestyles were highly media-oriented, young people did not use these forms of media at the expense of spending time with friends and participating in other out-of-home leisure activities in which sociability and excitement were among their central motivations. Among the most popular out-of-home commercial leisure activities were going shopping and to clubs/discos and parties (especially females), visiting the cinema and pubs/bars (among males and females), and meeting friends and hanging around 'doing nothing in particular' in largely unsupervised contexts (among males and females) (Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Karvonen *et al.*, 2001; Livingstone, 2002; Roberts, 1983, 1999, 2004; Sweeting and West, 2003).

Watching live professional sport such as football, either at the stadium or on TV, was also popular, especially among males (Waddington *et al.*, 1996; Waddington, *et al.*, 1998), while attending local youth clubs and arcades was popular among some males and females, particularly those from the lower social classes (Feinstein *et al.*, 2006; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Jeffs and Smith, 1998; Roberts, 1983, 1999; Sweeting and West, 2003). Street-based leisure was also popular among 15-16-year-olds, especially those from lower down the social hierarchy (Bynner, 2001; Dunning *et al.*, 1988; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Roberts, 1983, 1999; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Sweeting and West, 2003), and for some provided a context in which they drank alcohol, smoked and used illegal drugs (Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Shildrick, 2006; Shildrick and Macdonald, 2006).

Involvement in leisure activities of these kinds was funded partly by the wages young people received from their employment in part-time jobs, with the majority of the two-fifths of males and females who reported having a job working 4-6 or 7-9 hours

each week, and receiving £10-30.00 for doing so (Balding, 2006; Hendry *et al.*, 1993). Spending on media-oriented leisure, as well as food and drink, clothing/footwear and visiting pubs/bars and clubs/discos, among other things, was also supported by pocket money from parents or guardians that was received by almost all young people on a weekly basis (Balding, 2006; Hendry *et al.*, 1993).

The consumption of alcohol, and to a lesser extent tobacco and illegal drugs such as cannabis, also formed a part of the repertoire of leisure activities reported by the young people in this study. Indeed, reflecting the findings of many studies on young people (Balding, 2006; Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Miller and Plant, 2001, 2003; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Plant *et al.*, 2002; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001), drinking alcohol was the most widely practiced form of recreational drug-use and a near-universal leisure activity that most young people reported doing once or twice per week, usually on Friday and Saturday evenings. In terms of the kinds of alcoholic drinks that young people consume, it was clear from the focus groups that among males from all social backgrounds, pints, cans and bottled lager, beer and high-strength ciders were the most popular drinks, while among females spirits and alcopops were most frequently consumed. For many young people, drinking alcohol was an established part of the time they spent socializing in their leisure time in pubs and bars, or when eating out and in the parental home, while for higher proportions of males and those youngsters from lower down the social scale, in particular, alcohol consumption also took place outside the home in unsupervized settings (such as the local park or streets) (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Hendry *et al.*, 1993;

Miller and Plant, 2001, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Plant *et al.*, 2002; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001).

Despite these variations in the social contexts in which young people drank, drinking alcohol was widely considered as serving several purposes, all of which were consistent with findings in the wider literature (Dunning, 1996; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Simmel, 1950, 1971c [1910]; Shilling, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001). Indeed, the sociability that is generated when drinking and 'having a laugh with mates', in particular, was something upon which young people placed great value, as were the opportunities this provided for generating feelings of excitement, increased self-confidence, and experiencing a 'buzz', as emotional restraints were loosened during drinking. The de-routinizing function that the consumption of alcohol at the weekend was seen as playing in relieving stress and countering the high degree of routinization characteristic of their lives (such as providing a break from the demands of school), was also commented upon positively by many young people. Above all else, however, drinking alcohol was widely viewed by many as a more-or-less central, more-or-less normal, aspect of the emergent youth lifestyles in the twenty-first century (Egginton *et al.*, 2002; Harnett *et al.*, 2000; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Plant *et al.*, 2002; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001).

Whilst alcohol was the most widely-used drug reported in this study, smaller proportions of youngsters also reported smoking tobacco and consuming illegal drugs. In relation to tobacco (the second most commonly-used drug in the sample), the

findings supported claims made elsewhere (Balding, 2006; Denscombe, 2001a, 2001b; NCSR/NFER, 2004; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Pavis *et al.*, 1998; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Williams and Parker, 2001) that although consuming fewer cigarettes on average, more females than males were current smokers, while males and females aged 16 and those from the lower social classes were more likely to have reported smoking. By contrast, while there were fewer males and females aged 15 who smoked, this group smoked more frequently when doing so. Of those who were current smokers, many had been smoking for several years and were most likely to report smoking five days or more each week and smoking 46 or more cigarettes, for reasons such as maintaining body-image (among females in particular), boredom and because some of their closest friends were also frequent smokers (males and females). Supporting the findings of other studies that have pointed to ways in which youth is often a life-stage characterized by experimentation with smoking cigarettes (Bell *et al.*, 1999; Denscombe, 2001a, 2001b; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Pavis *et al.*, 1998), a smaller proportion of young people (especially males) also described themselves as infrequent social smokers who tended to smoke fewer cigarettes in comparison to other more frequent smokers, often when drinking at parties with mates or when they are offered cigarettes in pubs and clubs.

The third drug that was most likely to have been offered to young people (and the only illegal one) was cannabis – a finding that has been widely reported elsewhere in Europe (EMCDDA, 2001; ESPAD, 2000), and across Britain (NCSR/NFER, 2004; Plant *et al.*, 2002; Shildrick, 2002, 2006; Shiner and Newburn, 1997), including the north-west region of England where much of the present study was conducted (Measham *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Parker

et al., 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Roy *et al.*, 2005; Wibberley and Price, 2000). It is important to note, however, that whilst cannabis was, by some margin, the most widely-known and used illegal drug – something which suggests that it was perhaps normalized among young people (Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002) – its use was limited to a significant minority of 15-16-year-olds (40%), half of whom had reported using drugs in the past month (Roy *et al.*, 2005; Shiner and Newburn, 1997; Wibberley and Price, 2000). In particular, whilst similar proportions of males and females from all social backgrounds had reported using cannabis, frequent use of the drug was reported by more males than females and by those from lower social classes, many of whom had been using the drug for several years (Shildrick, 2002, 2006).

It is equally noteworthy that whilst some young people (especially males) reported using cannabis on a school day as well as at weekends, the drug was most usually consumed at the weekends as part of the poly-drug repertoires that the minority of young people who used the drug had developed during their leisure time (Measham *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002). Of those who reported using illegal drugs such as cannabis, many did so out of curiosity and because they felt constrained to do so when their friends were doing so (often when drunk). In addition, past monthly and weekly users of the drugs claimed to use cannabis because it was something that they found exciting and which they enjoyed in the company of mates (Measham *et al.*, 1998; Parker and Egginton, 2002; Parker and Williams, 2003; Parker *et al.*, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 2002; Shildrick, 2002, 2006; Shiner and Newburn, 1997; Wibberley and Price, 2000). In this regard, the findings of this study support the view expressed elsewhere that young

people have a complex and diverse combination of leisure interests, many of which reflect the growth in commercialized youth leisure provisions and the increasing trend towards privatized home-centred leisure over the past two or three decades or so (Dunning, 1996; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Karvonen *et al.*, 2001; Roberts, 1999, 2004; Rojek, 1985). But how can the complexity, not to say, relative heterogeneity of 15-16-year-olds' sporting and non-sporting leisure lives be best explained sociologically? The next section begins to address these issues by arguing for the need to examine 15-16-year-olds and their leisure lives 'in the round'.

Viewing young people's lives 'in the round'

In the light of the data generated by this study it seems that, when viewed 'in the round', many young people's lives are characterized by participation in sport and physical activity *alongside* a range of other leisure activities – including some of the kinds of sedentary, even 'unhealthy' practices that appear 'counter-intuitive' according to the rhetoric of government policy documents and, for that matter, the PE and sporting communities. More specifically, for many young people, and 'particularly the more frequent participants', playing sport was 'just one component in their generally busy leisure lives' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 128) and one that did not prevent them from engaging simultaneously in more sedentary activities (such as prolonged TV viewing and playing computer games) nor, for that matter, consuming legal and illegal drugs (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Crabbe, 2000; Dunning and Waddington, 2003; Fisher, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Roberts and Brodie, 1992; Smith and Green, 2005; Smith and Waddington, 2004, 2005).

It was noted in Chapter Eight that no significant associations were observed between young people's weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent watching TV, videos and DVDs on a school day and at the weekend. This was because these were near-universal leisure activities in which many young people were involved. Computer-use on a school day and at weekends was highly significant, however, with the general pattern being the more frequent the leisure-sport and physical activity participation is, particularly among males, the more frequent the participation and time spent playing computer games and using the Internet and email for things other than homework. Thus, contrary to popular belief – and confirming the findings of Biddle and colleagues, among others – whilst these were popular leisure activities among 15-16-year-olds; they did not prevent them from participating in sport and physical activity: there appeared to be time for both in their lives (Biddle *et al.*, 2003; Biddle *et al.*, 2004; Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Fisher, 2002; Marshall *et al.*, 2002). It was also clear that, in line with the wider literature, almost all young people who participated in leisure-sport and physical activity also drank alcohol regularly, but were much less likely to smoke cigarettes and to use illegal drugs such as cannabis (Dunning and Waddington, 2003; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Koski, 2005; McCaul *et al.*, 2004; Peretti-Watel *et al.*, 2002; Peretti-Watel *et al.*, 2005).

Taken as a whole, the findings from this study indicate that it is inadequate to examine sport and physical activity participation 'in isolation from other equally significant aspects of young people's lives' (Miles, 2003: 179). This is the case not least because it is very often the *same* young people who are involved in sport and physical activity who also use more media-oriented forms of leisure, commercial leisure provisions and consume drugs of both a legal and illegal kind. Young people's

lives are far more multi-dimensional than is often presented and are characterized by participation in apparently inherently contradictory activities. Those who play sport also drink alcohol, watch TV for prolonged periods and so on – it is the same young people who do all of these things. The differences lie in the degree to which they are involved in particular combinations of leisure activities, all of which are structured along traditional lines of gender, age and class. Viewing all young people's specific activities as an aspect of their lives 'in the round' helps us to reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable (Smith and Green, 2005); that is to say, the fact that while 'young people spend considerable portions of their leisure time being sedentary' (Marshall *et al.*, 2002: 413) and engaged in other leisure activities that are perceived to pose 'threats' to their health, they are simultaneously involved in sport and physical activity.

The complex and multi-dimensional character of the leisure lives of many of the 15-16-year-olds in the study points up the explanatory power of the notion of change alongside continuity when applied to young people in general, but teenagers approaching the end of mandatory schooling in particular. Evidence of change alongside continuity is to be found in both the leisure-sport and general leisure lifestyles of these 15-16-year-olds when compared with their participation in curricular and extra-curricular PE. It is also to be found when they reflect upon their past experiences of and involvement in sport and leisure. In these ways, change alongside continuity appears as a characteristic feature of young people's lives. It is worth noting in passing that change alongside continuity also appears to be a strong feature of school provision of sports and physical activities as part of curricular and

extra-curricular PE (that is to say, when compared with Sport England's findings) as well as within the school careers of this cohort.

Young people in their figurations

It is argued in this thesis that in order to arrive at an adequate understanding of young people's lives – and the place of sport and leisure therein – it is necessary to conceptualize and study young people as being *interdependent* with a range of other people – near and far, in the past as well as the present – in a variety of settings or networks (for example, with friends, families and schools), rather than as isolated, individual and independent choosers of lifestyle practices. These networks are, in effect, the context in which young people's sporting and leisure lives emerge and develop. Recognizing young people, always and everywhere, as interdependent, enables us to examine how their attitudes and behaviours are both enabled and constrained by their social interdependence with, and mutual dependence upon, other people at various stages in their young lives.

In this study several dimensions of young people's interdependencies stood out at what might be viewed as three interrelated levels: the national (for example, in the form of the prescriptions of NCPE), the local (schools and PE teachers, for example), and the personal (such as friends and family). These included their changing relationships with their PE teachers, the growing significance of their friends and their search for sociability and excitement. Creating the context for the various networks that young people are involved in are a number of wider social processes that can be seen to provide the context or circumstances in which young people's relations with others in these networks (such as teachers and friends) develop and which establish

the preconditions for the developments in youth sport and leisure outlined in this study. Prominent among these are processes at the more general, societal level (such as informalization, democratization, commercialization, pacification, individualization and privatization) as well as processes occurring at the level of the young person (such as biological and social maturation and growing interdependence).

The next section will focus upon these underlying processes as well as the key features of young people's figurations that help to explain their multi-dimensional sporting and leisure lives.

Democratization and informalization

Several developments in recent decades can be seen to represent a democratization of sport and leisure among youth and adults alike, all of which are expressions of the ways in which there has been over a long period of time a reduction in the power differentials and social distance between adults and younger people. The dramatic growth since the 1960s and 1970s of public and private sports provision, expansion of school sport and PE, and rising standards of living are all unplanned processes that have been strongly associated with several developments in youth culture. In particular, these include the demonstrable increase in participation and democratization of leisure-sport and the changing sporting and leisure preferences of young people (Roberts, 1996a). These developments are worth considering in more detail.

The rapid expansion of public sport and leisure centre provision during the mid-1970s helped to increase the opportunities of young people and adults to participate in their

preferred sports and physical activities, usually on a casual 'do-it-yourself' basis. As noted above, the young people in this study tended to participate in their preferred leisure-sport activities, some of which were more adult-like (such as 'going to the gym'), because they were often highly self-organized and pursued more recreationally, with their friends, at times of their choice. It is also in the context of concern with health and body-image that the growth in private health and fitness clubs (such as Total Fitness and Fitness First), which some of those 15-16-year-olds from the higher social classes in this study reported attending, have also expanded the range of opportunities to participate in sport and physical activity. As Houlihan and White (2002: 55) have observed, while:

> the impact of the commercial sector might be narrowly focussed, it is not insignificant and in the area of fitness gyms and aerobics classes, in particular, it has made a significant contribution to the increase in participation levels, especially among women.

Indeed, the expansion and movement of the commercial leisure industry into the mass sports participation market, while 'increasingly overlapping with and competing directly against public and voluntary providers' (Houlihan and White, 2002: 55), has been one of the most marked changes that have helped to broaden the range of opportunities for young people to participate in sport and physical activity and other leisure activities. It has also been strongly associated with the lengthening of youth as a life-stage and the growth of specifically youth-oriented leisure markets as younger people have become an increasingly important and powerful target group for many leisure providers. One consequence of the expansion of youth leisure markets has been the greater informalizing between, and social mixing of, younger and older people in such contexts as health and fitness clubs, pubs and bars, shopping malls, restaurants and so on.

In conjunction with the expansion of public and commercial leisure facilities that enabled the 15-16-year-olds in this study to participate in their preferred leisure-sports and physical activities has been the changing nature and broadening of school sport and PE. Over the last quarter of a century or more, but especially since the emergence of a National Curriculum for PE in 1992, PE teachers have been increasingly concerned with supplementing traditional team-games-oriented PE curricula with a broader range of partner and team sports and 'lifestyle activities' that are key features of young people's leisure sport and physical activity lifestyles in the later secondary school years (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a). In a largely unplanned way, these developments in school sport and PE have reinforced the broader trends in and changing leisure styles of young people and helped to enhance opportunities for participation by introducing youngsters to a range of sporting activities commensurate with their increasingly individualized lifestyles (Green *et al.*, 2005a; Roberts, 1996a).

Although the broadening and diversification of PE curricula has helped to increase the range of opportunities for young people to participate in sport and physical activity, the data from this study indicated that this is heavily constrained by social class and, because of their higher power ratio, by particular teachers in schools (Curtner-Smith, 1995, 1999, 2001; Green, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003). In this regard, in line with broader findings in the sociology of education (see, for example, Gorard *et al.*, 2003), it was apparent that the social location of the schools and the sporting preferences and abilities of pupils appear to be related to the kinds of PE curricular available to young people. The particular blend of activities provided by the teachers – for example, a higher proportion of team games, and especially football, in schools

located in lower-class regions compared with a wider variety including individual activities in middle-class schools – appears to have been constrained not only by the local sporting resources (for example, on school sites, neighbouring sports centres, local clubs) (Roberts, 1996a), but also by teachers' perceptions of what were appropriate sporting activities and 'diets' for their 'kinds' of pupils (Green, 2003). Those young people who attended schools located in relatively deprived social areas received what amounted to relatively narrow diets of sporting activity regardless of the school's status; that is to say, whether or not, for example, they were designated SSCs. Thus, the data from this study suggests that the significance of the school in terms of democratization of participation in sport among young people lay not so much in the curricular and extra-curricular provision, but rather in the social class of its pupils, which is something that teachers in schools can do little or nothing to countervail.

It was also clear that of particular significance for the democratization of sporting opportunities and experiences are the gendered perceptions that teachers hold of appropriate sports and physical activities for their pupils as part of curricular and extra-curricular PE. In this vein, the continued provision of supposedly gender-appropriate activities and teachers' perceptions of masculine and feminine-appropriate activities for 15-16-year-olds in this study illustrates how younger people, by virtue of their lower power ratio relative to those of teachers, are highly dependent upon the latter for their sporting and physical activity experiences. Thus, while teachers are themselves constrained not only by NCPE at the national level, but also by custom and practice as well as context at the local level of the school (Green, 2003), the degree to which teachers are able, within relatively defined limits, to circumvent the

constraints imposed upon them by their own biographies and NCPE policy comes to limit and determine the kinds of sporting experiences young people receive as part of PE (see, for example, Curtner-Smith, 1995, 2001; Curtner-Smith and Meek, 2000; Green, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003).

The typically unequal power-balances that characterize the relations between teachers and pupils in schools, as outlined above, is well-established. However, what is often overlooked and less well-documented is the seemingly growing dependence of teachers upon the expectations and 'demands' of their pupils (Green, 2003). Indeed, one additional aspect of functional democratization and associated processes of informalization is young people's desire for significant reductions in adult control over their lives. This manifested itself in this study in the ways in which 15-16-year-olds were beginning to recognize increasingly their ability – or, as they see it, their 'right' – to 'have their say' and to purposely shun more formal, adult-led activities in favour of those that had adult-like features not only in leisure (for example, drinking alcohol in pubs), but also to some extent in school as well (for example, the kinds of activities delivered in KS4 PE and the ways in which those activities were taught by teachers). Whilst young people are dependent upon teachers for the content and style of the sporting experiences they receive in the guise of PE, the latter are also dependent upon the former in a variety of ways: not least amongst which is the willingness or otherwise of young adults to take part at all in PE and display appropriate and manageable behaviour (Green, 2003). In the present study, the ways in which the dynamic power balances characteristic of the relations between young people and the teachers tilts towards young people as they approach the later years of secondary school, was expressed particularly clearly in the provision by teachers of a

greater degree of 'activity choice' or so-called 'option PE' at KS4. More particularly, the 15 and 16-year-olds in this study demonstrated a desire to be treated more like adults by teachers and to be given the opportunity to choose to do the things they wanted to do and with whom they wanted to do them. Notwithstanding the tendency for PE teachers as a whole to provide pupils with little or no 'activity choice' at KS3, as young people approach the end of compulsory schooling teachers become increasingly constrained to give greater consideration than formerly to young people's changing sporting and lifestyle preferences. This manifested itself in the present study in the form of a more recreational, leisure-oriented emphasis in KS4 PE in which teacher-pupil relations were characterized by greater degrees of informalization, leniency and variety compared to those in the early secondary school years.

It should be noted, however, that despite the prevalence of 'activity choice' the power differentials between young people and the teachers remain tilted in favour of the latter but not in any absolute sense. This was illustrated in the study by the fact that what teachers actually offered as 'activity choice' (for example, the provision of tennis, badminton, football, netball and aerobics) was, in many respects, a supplementation and extension of the traditional sport- and team-game-oriented PE curriculum that characterized pupils' experiences of PE at KS3 (Green, 2003) – it was, in effect, a loosening up of the portfolio of activities but largely on the teachers' terms and was structured according to social class and gender in particular. In schools located in relatively deprived social areas, and for girls especially, the range of sports the 15-16-year-olds were involved with – in curricular PE, extra-curricular PE and leisure-sport and physical activity – was narrower and concentrated around particular (usually team-) games (especially football) for working-class boys and recreational

types of activities for girls. This restricted range appeared to reflect the interdependence between 15-16-year-old males from working-class neighbourhoods specifically, and girls in general, in a mutually reinforcing process of demand and supply. In the case of the former, males expressed a preference for football in particular and, based upon Green's (2003) study, it appears likely that their PE teachers were responding to managing their 'types' of pupils by giving them, to some extent, what they wanted.

Alongside processes of informalization and democratization has been another significant process that has formed an additional unplanned dimension to the preconditions for developments in young people's leisure lifestyles: the commercialization of leisure and leisure-sport.

Commercialization

The data from this study support claims that youth is a period during which many young people move away from engaging in family and more informally organized leisure activities towards using more commercially-oriented youth leisure provisions (such as going to parties, pub-going and visiting friends, as well as use of media such as TV, computers, DVDs, MSN, iPods and video games) that tend to characterize later adolescence (Bynner, 2001; Dunning, 1996; Elias and Dunning, 1986; Feinstein *et al.*, 2006; Hendry *et al.*, 1993; Miles, 2000; Roberts, 1999, 2004). It is important to note, however, that the shift towards commercial and privatized leisure among the 15-16-year-olds in this study occurred alongside and in conjunction with, rather than instead of, participating in sport and physical activity.

This trend is further encouraged not only by increases in pocket money for 15-16-year-olds but for increasing numbers of teenagers to begin to earn money for themselves via part-time jobs. The evident growth in the spending power of young people has made them a target market for many leisure providers – something which was reflected in the 15-16-year-olds' attendance at pubs and clubs as well as the growth of media-based forms of leisure such as music and computer games. Appreciating this helps one recognize that whilst technological developments influence the direction in which young people's uses of leisure develop, 'the technical "thing in itself" is never the source of the compelling forces and hardship to which people are subject' (Elias, 1978: 25). This is explained, rather, by the ways in which technology is applied – in leisure-terms especially – to young people's lives. Often overlooked is the fact that the rapid development of commercial forms of leisure, and young people's consumption of those forms, is one instance of the ways in which the figurations of which they are a part have become more complex and highly-differentiated. These processes are, in turn, the result of very complex power-struggles between many groups of people, not just between groups of young people but also between them and those who provide these technologies. These struggles give rise to a variety of unintended outcomes, such as the ways in which sedentariness is reinforced among young people who may feel constrained to play on computer games, watch TV and use messenger services such as MSN as a means of maintaining friendship groups and social interaction. In other words, technological inventions of these kinds are often used by young people 'under the pressure of their entangled interdependence, and in the associated struggles over the distribution of power chances of all kinds' (Elias, 1978: 25).

Discussion of the social contexts in which young people's leisure occurs needs to be cogniscent of the home as a major site of leisure experience in the developed world and one that is strongly associated, for example, with the development of media-oriented, commercialized forms of leisure that have, in turn, emerged correlatively with the increasing trend towards privatized leisure. This was reflected in this study by young people's frequent use of computer games and TV, as well as other diverse activities such as baby-sitting for parents and drinking alcohol in the home. It is evident that the privatization of leisure has not meant that young people have neglected out-of-home forms of leisure – such as sport and physical activity and other commercialized forms of leisure, not least because these continue to provide them with de-routinized and sociable forms of pleasurable excitement.

Pacification and the quest for excitement and sociability

The data in this study support the observation that in the relatively pacified societies of the western world (Mennell, 1992), sport and leisure provide enclaves for young people to engage in activities that generate tension and pleasurable excitement, accompanied by a requisite degree of anxiety and fear (enjoyed even more when in the company of friends and others) by de-routinizing the high level of routinization characteristic of life in 'un-exciting' societies (Elias and Dunning, 1986). While sport and leisure activities can, of course, lose their de-routinizing characteristics by becoming increasingly routinized and losing the capacity for generating excitement (Dunning, 1996), such activities help young people to develop and enhance the socially-conditioned, psychological need for obtaining emotional pleasurable excitement from the leisure activities in which they were involved. In short, leisure activities in modern societies such as Britain, and sport in particular, provide young

people with opportunities for a controlled de-controlling of emotional controls that was centrally involved in their 'quest for exciting significance' within certain limits (Maguire, 1992, 2003).

At the same time, leisure provides opportunities for these 15-16-year-olds to satisfy their desires for sociability alongside 'exciting significance' (Maguire, 1992, 2003); sociability and excitement were often the primary elements of leisure activities. Young people derive enjoyment and pleasurable emotional arousal through engagement in activities where sociability is the primary element. The sporting and leisure activities reported by the young people in this study formed enclaves for the socially-approved arousal of moderate excitement in public. Such activities were also characterized by higher degrees of friendly emotionality (Elias and Dunning, 1986; Maguire, 1992; Roberts, 1999). In this regard, activities of this kind help to counteract the relatively impersonal contacts that have become increasingly routinized in the non-leisure spheres of young people's lives. Thus, the 15-16-year-olds often engaged in activities as a counter to the emotional staleness (for example, in relation to the highly structured nature of school life) engendered in highly-routinized societies. One obvious way in which the quest for excitement (often in the form of adopting adult and/or 'risky' behaviours) and the significance for friendship groups manifested itself among the 15-16 year-olds in this study was in drinking and the adoption of adult-like leisure activities. Drinking, sport, hanging around with friends, among other things, all help to provide opportunities for closer integration between young people on a level of overt and, in intent, friendly emotionality in the company of others (Dunning, 1999; Elias and Dunning, 1986). The pleasure young people derive from sociable activities was enhanced by the communal consumption of alcohol, as well as playing

sport, and higher levels of overt friendly emotionality generated in those contexts. Indeed, a particularly pronounced dimension of the 15-16-year-olds' desire for sociability and excitement was the significance of their friends to their lives.

Growing interdependence: friends, individualization and sociability

Young people's thoughts and behaviours are both enabled and constrained by their social interdependence with, and mutual dependence upon, other people and, particularly at ages 15 and 16, their friends. Their views on PE are characterized by a number of well-understood, shared meanings (regarding, for example, the desirability of 'activity choice', the appeal of recreational forms of involvement and participating alongside their friends) that can only be understood adequately by locating young people within their particular figurations, especially at the local level. While their particular sporting and leisure behaviours are often a reflection, in part, of their own lifestyle preferences, these are developed in the context of peers and friendship groups. Insofar as peer and friendship groups are viewed as not only extremely desirable but as indispensable to young people – influencing very many aspects of their lives – individual 15-16-year-olds' views (for example, on sport, smoking, alcohol and drugs) are, as it were 'tried on' in the mirror of anticipation of friends' views regarding, for example, what is 'cool', what is adult-like and what is authentically exciting.

Young people continually attempt to 'stand out' and express their individuality in socially acceptable ways; that is to say, within the limits defined as acceptable by their friends and others (Miles, 2000; Miles *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 2004; Roberts and Parsell, 1994; Simmel, 1971a [1904]; 1971b [1908]; 1971c [1910]; 1971d). The

significance of their friends to the 15-16-year-olds in this study is neatly illustrated in the particular means by which they sought to stand out as individuals in socially-acceptable ways by striking a socially-appropriate 'we-I' balance (Elias, 2001) whilst pursuing their own more-or-less highly-individualized patterns of intentions, preferences and desires (for example, in relation to sport and other forms of leisure participation) in the company of other like-minded young people (Miles, 2000; Miles *et al.*, 1998; Roberts, 1999, 2004; Simmel, 1971a [1904]; 1971b [1908]; 1971c [1910]; 1971d). In this regard, the young people in this study viewed themselves as highly-individualized people who placed considerable emphasis not only on their personal freedom, their ability to act on their own responsibility and to decide what they want for themselves (Elias, 2001), but also their perceived difference from other people. It is important to note, however, that although they placed particular emphasis upon the 'I' dimension of their self-identity, the 'we' identity remained very important for these young people and, in that respect, the lives of the 15-16-year-olds in this study were becoming highly individualized in the context of their increasing interdependence with other people. Indeed, whilst the young people in the study led highly individualized lifestyles this did not lead them to downplay the importance of friends, for they placed particular value upon the sociability and excitement that often accompanied the situations which they shared with friends. To that end, it was clear that although the actions of individual young people are often a reflection of their own particular lifestyle preferences, these are often negotiated in the context of friends. The increasing individualization of young people's lifestyles, biographies, identities – and the growing emphasis that has come to be placed upon the significance of the I-identity in their lives – was, then, highly interwoven or, rather, highly interdependent, with the increasing complexity and differentiation of the interdependencies in which

they find themselves. For this and other reasons, the findings of this study indicate that it is not possible to understand adequately young people's involvement in all aspects of social life without locating them within the networks of interdependencies of which they are a part.

Youth as a process: the development of young people's sporting and leisure habituses

The interdependence of young people with their teachers, schools and friends is particularly significant for the development of their sporting habituses. It is during the more impressionable phases of childhood and the adolescent years that habitus is developed most rapidly and, to a large extent, hardened (van Krieken, 1998). Young people's habituses (in other words, their 'second nature') develop within particular networks of expanding and ever-more complex relationships. The 15-16-year-olds reported their experiences of sport and physical activity during the secondary school years as significant in the formation and development of their sporting predispositions. At the same time, however, the growing appeal of more adult-like lifestyle practices (for example, the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes alongside nightclubbing and going in to town) alongside the attraction of more 'exciting' pastimes (for example, illegal drugs such as cannabis and the opposite sex) that accompanied their physical and social maturation and development also impacted upon their developing habituses. In this regard, the impact of curricular and extra-curricular PE appeared to be militated by various dimensions of their social and geographical location. During their mid-teenage years, the 15-16-year-olds were being increasingly socialized into particular lifestyles that featured, to a greater or lesser degree, participation in a breadth of more adult lifestyles alongside sport and physical activity. Hence, the significance of school experiences and, as the data in the present

study show, sport and physical activity experiences via NCPE, for the development and subsequent hardening of habitus is more marked for the habitus of young people from working-class backgrounds than is the case for those from higher social class groupings, particularly in relation to the establishment of wider sporting repertoires (Roberts and Brodie, 1992).

From a sociological perspective, youth is a process in which young people's biological and social selves are continually developing, in what might be termed a state of 'structured flux'. As far as the 15-16 year-olds in the present study are concerned, the data reflect the processual and complex nature of young people's leisure lifestyles. In this regard, the findings in the study run counter to the prevailing tendency amongst government, the media – and even the PE and sport policy community – not only to dichotomize, and thus distort, representation of youth lifestyles but also to treat as static what, in reality, are the dynamic and developing leisure lives of these young people. The data suggest that young people's lives are far more complex than is often presented in the hydraulic metaphors that tend to characterize participation in what are often seen as inherently contradictory activities in either/or terms. The study highlights the extent to which 15-16-year-olds are engaged in what tend – almost invariably in common sense analyses of youth sport – to be presented as mutually-exclusive, sedentary or active leisure behaviours (for example, watching relatively large amounts of TV and active engagement in sport). In making this counter-intuitive observation, and in providing some of the rich detail regarding the more typical combinations of leisure and leisure-sport activities (especially in relation to supposedly healthy and unhealthy practices such as sport and alcohol), the study reveals a more detailed, more nuanced and, therefore, more reality-

congruent understanding of youth sport at the expense of the kinds of over-simplistic hydraulic metaphors commonly used when prescribing sport as an antidote to a range of perceived health and social 'ills'.

In line with findings in the sociology of youth (see, for example, Miles, 2000), the study highlights the interrelationships between young people's involvement in sport and their broader leisure lives, reflecting just how complex young people's lives are, especially at periods of transition such as the end of formal schooling. The combination of leisure practices adopted by 15- and 16-year-olds in the study (for example, playing a range of competitive and non-competitive sports whilst drinking alcohol, taking drugs and even experimenting with drugs) reflects the often unrecognized heterogenous dimension of youth lifestyles. Thus, any tendency to simplify and even caricature the 'negative' and 'unhealthy' aspects of youth lifestyles believed to be shared by all young people whilst downplaying or even failing to recognize the complex of behaviours characteristic of young people will inevitably distort understandings of youth sport.

The final section of this chapter will attempt to tease out what the findings from the present study add to or tell us about existing explanations and understandings of the relationship between young people, sport and leisure.

Conclusion

The study represents the first detailed research study of a group of 15-16-year-olds about whom a great deal is assumed, often erroneously and usually on the basis of limited evidence. It is a group that is not only experiencing a significant period of

biological development and social transition but also one that stands on the cusp of what has been widely recognized – since the Wolfenden Report of 1960 – as the first life-stage at which substantial drop-out from sport and physical activity occurs. It is also the first detailed study of young people that brings together aspects of their lives (leisure and sport) conventionally researched in isolation, enabling a portrayal of the complexity of their lives whilst teasing out, in the process, the particular blends of adult-like and youth, healthy and unhealthy behaviours. In these respects, the study provides ample demonstration that 15-16-year-olds are not turning their backs on sport nor are they taking up other leisure practices at the expense of sport and physical activity. The study adds the fine detail in forms and patterns of participation that enable a fuller, more rounded appreciation of the extent to which lifestyle activities have taken hold in the leisure lifestyles of 15-16-year-olds, but also the ways in which more recreational forms of 'traditional sports' are becoming increasingly popular. It also enables one to appreciate that whilst not a homogenous group, neither are young people entirely heterogeneous.

In the process, the study flags up the shortcomings of existing commentaries in a number of ways. Sport England's 1994, 1999 and 2002 surveys, for example, group together several features that need disentangling in order to arrive at a more refined picture of 15-16-year-olds' sporting and leisure lives. Sport England do not, for example, distinguish between extra-curricular PE and leisure-sport and physical activity and this study demonstrates the significant differences between the two as far as 15-16-year-olds' participation is concerned. In doing so the research also adds detail to the growing number of studies of extra-curricular PE. Similarly, Sport England surveys do not distinguish between more recreational and more sporting

forms of particularly popular activities such as football. Doing so in this study enables a more refined appreciation of the ways in which many claims regarding participation in sport mask the varying nature or styles of participation that can be crucial to the perceptions of young people.

The present study also highlights aspects of PE provision and, for that matter, leisure-sport that are not only under-researched but also crucial to an understanding of youth sport. Prominent among these is the centrality of 'activity choice' to young people, especially in relation to sport, and the school effect on participation in PE, extra-curricular PE and leisure-sport and physical activity. In the process, the study may also add something to what is already known about the significance of wide sporting repertoires to participation in sport in young people's leisure. In providing opportunities for young people to engage in three or more sports, all of the schools provided PE curricula conducive to the development of wide sporting repertoires likely to impact upon their participation in leisure-sport. As noted above and in the previous chapter, however, the study indicated that this was heavily constrained by the social class background of pupils, with those from the higher social classes, especially males, playing more leisure-sports on average. In this regard, the study points to the potential limits to the significance of schools and their PE teachers in fostering participation. It suggests that developments in leisure and leisure-sport and physical activity participation among 15-16-year-olds and, for that matter, young people's lives generally, may reflect broader social processes and may, therefore, be beyond the direct influence of schools, PE teachers and policy-makers (Coalter, 1999). The plural nature of the influences upon leisure patterns in general, and physical exercise in particular, means it is almost impossible for any one policy to

have other than a marginal influence on public leisure behaviour (Coalter, 1999; Roberts, 1999; Roberts and Brodie, 1992). In this regard, the study also demonstrates the continued significance of social dynamics in shaping youth leisure. Of particular significance are the class dimensions to schools in the form of the teachers and pupils they attract, the curricula they think will appeal to or 'include' their 'types' of pupils or, indeed, are demanded by the pupils, and the sporting traditions of particular schools.

In theoretical terms, the study points up the shortcomings of both post-modern and psychologically-oriented analyses. For a number of commentators developments in young people's leisure behaviours are best explained in terms of a *post-modern condition*: 'the decline of collective identities and common interests, increased emphasis upon individualism, a concern with body maintenance and its surface representation, the focus on appearance, fashion and physique and the "look"' (Coalter, 1999: 27). From a sociological perspective, it is inadequate to talk simplistically of young people or adults as isolated choosers of leisure pastimes, choosing simply on the basis of the appeal or otherwise of activities *qua* activities. The findings from this study suggest that not only do 'early socialization experiences and conditionings, and the social networks within which these are gained, have a crucial effect upon an individual's outlook, attitudes and values, disposition, tastes and preferences' (Kew, 1997: 150) in a whole range of cultural practices including sport and physical activity, but that these networks remain highly significant in shaping sporting and leisure practices at age 15-16 years.

Supporting the findings of existing studies (see, for example, Hall *et al.*, 1978; MacDonald *et al.*, 2001; Roberts, 1997, 1999, 2003a; Roberts and Parsell, 1994; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Willis, 1977), data from the present study also indicated that postmodern explanations of young people's tend to 'under-play the significance of class and other social inequalities in contemporary youth culture' (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006: 126). Indeed, while the social class differences in 15-16-year-olds' use of sport and other leisure activities were somewhat blurred, their leisure choices were often made within class-based affiliations (for example, in relation to street-based leisure and use of private health and fitness clubs), with differences within the leisure lives of young people from all social classes also apparent among the sample. In this regard, contrary to the currently popular postmodern and post-subcultural studies of youth lifestyles, social class remains a central and important aspect of understanding the reality of young people's lifestyles (Hall *et al.*, 1978; MacDonald *et al.*, 2001; Roberts, 1997, 1999, 2003a; Roberts and Parsell, 1994; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Willis, 1977).

Furthermore, a dominant tendency in existing analyses and explanations of sports participation generally, and of young people in particular, is to focus upon the *psychological* characteristics of individual young people. In doing so, such analyses fail to recognize adequately let alone conceptualize individuals as 'interdependent people in the singular'. The focus on characteristics and traits that tends to be a feature of psychologically-oriented explanations often leads to the use of typologies (see, for example, Sport England, 2003b). Such typologies are often presented as a heuristic device to help tease out the policy implications of surveys of youth sport. Whilst superficially plausible, they depend for their efficacy upon the adequacy of the

identified types. The findings from this study suggest that, although such typologies may well point up features of the sporting orientations of young people (for example, 'unadventurous'), they are too simplistic. Very many young people are, in fact, 'sporty types' in one form or another and very many have 'untapped potential'. More significantly, these typologies tend to reduce to simplistic orientations the more complex leisure lives of young people. Consequently, in reducing participation to the supposed 'traits' of individuals, typologies of the kind developed by Sport England divert attention from the preconditions for participation. Whilst on the face of it the ultimate precondition is, in effect, the habitus or predisposition towards sport of the individual, this study demonstrates the necessity of attending to the ways in which schools, friends, and PE programmes may or may not shape the sporting and leisure habituses of young people. Problems arise when one is preoccupied with individualistic explanations for behaviour change and government, media and, it must be said, many academic diagnoses and prognoses, emphasise individual behaviour change of the kind associated with the health education model of the 1980s.

When the findings from this study and, for that matter, others like it (see for example, Sport England, 2003a) are juxtaposed with government and media commentaries, the need for an appropriate blend of involvement-detachment when researching young people, sport and leisure becomes readily apparent. In order to achieve a more rounded appreciation of the place of sport in the leisure lives of 15-16-year-olds, it is necessary to examine their lifestyles from a more detached position than has hitherto been evident in government, media and sporting commentaries. In this regard, the concept of involvement-detachment encourages the researcher to recognize and distance him/herself from the common-place, taken-for-granted and ideological

diagnoses and prescriptions prevalent in the sport policy community. Ideological beliefs, for example, about the supposedly causal relationship between involvement in sport and the adoption of associated healthy lifestyle practices as well as the belief that young people aged 15-16 years old have 'abandoned' sport and physical activity are shown in the case of the young people in this study to be more mythical than reality-congruent. In this regard, the findings from the present study encourage a shift to more realistic, less fantasy-laden thinking, about young people, sport and leisure. These, and other related issues, are explored further in the conclusion to this thesis.

Conclusion

The central objective of this thesis has been to enhance understanding of the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, and their leisure lives in particular, via a detailed study of 15-16-year-olds in the north-west of England and north-east of Wales. In this regard, the study took as its focus a seemingly crucial point at which young people's lives 'unfreeze' (Roberts, 1999) and one of the three points in the life-course (along with 45 and 70 years) immediately after which participation declines most markedly, alongside a correlative increase in the propensity for adopting increasingly adult-like lifestyles and behaviours; that is to say, the final year of compulsory schooling (Year 11). The study was based on two premises. First, that there has been a tendency to consider young people's sporting experiences 'in isolation from other equally significant aspects of young people's lives' (Miles, 2003: 179) and, second, that there is a need for smaller-scale studies which examine the fine detail of the leisure of young people (Roberts, 1999).

Set in this context, the thesis argued that to understand adequately where sport and physical activity fit into the lives of 15-16-year-olds it is not sufficient to focus upon them as isolated individuals, or to examine their participation in sport and physical activity without relating this to other aspects of their lifestyles. Rather, in order to examine the reality of the lifestyles of 15-16-year-olds it is imperative to locate them within the complex and dynamic figurations they form with others and to examine the sheer complexity of the relational networks of which they are a part. By recognizing 15-16-year-olds as comprising complex figurations and examining their lives 'in the round', helps us to appreciate that they – individually and in groups – are subject to a vast array of interdependent internal and external constraints, all of which come to

limit and structure their participation in sport, physical activity and leisure. Indeed, it was clear that while 15-16-year-olds often use sport and other leisure activities to help feel that they had *personal* control over their own lives, they cannot escape the various figurational constraints – even if they were not recognized as such – they experience through being interdependent with more and more people as they were growing older.

In addition to locating the young people themselves within their various networks of social interdependencies, the thesis also argued that to understand sociologically the place of sport and physical activity in 15-16-year-olds' lives it is important to recognize the significance of wider social processes that are constituted by the actions of the people who comprise those same networks of power relationships. In particular, young people's sporting and leisure participation can only be meaningfully understood by locating these within the context of very long-term unplanned processes such as individualization, functional democratization, the informalizing of the relations between adults and younger people, and the commercialization of sport and leisure. It was also argued that there are several primary motivations that underlie the reasons 15-16-year-olds gave for their involvement in the amalgam of sport and leisure activities that characterize their complex lifestyles. These included, among other things, the extent to which sport and leisure activities helped to counter the routinization of their non-leisure lives by maximizing the opportunities for them to experience overt friendly emotionality, excitement and sociability generated through being in the company of friends.

In the light of these the main findings, the final section of this thesis reflects upon some of the main policy implications that arise from the study and considers those things that should be central to future research in the field of young people, sport and leisure.

The policy implications of the findings

It was noted at the outset of this study that insofar as much official and semi-official public policy has been characterized by a relative lack of detachment, by a high degree of commitment to non-scientific values and by a high level of emotional involvement, there has been a tendency for such policies to simply allocate praise or blame rather than enhancing our level of understanding of the realities of young people's sport and leisure lives. Indeed, it was argued that much existing policy adds little if anything to our understanding of the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, and of the relationships between various aspects of young people's lives, and serves to indicate the value position of those involved. However, insofar as the fantasy-content of thinking and knowledge that underlies much government policy is high and thus its reality-orientation low (Elias, 1956, 1987), the more likely it is that this will be an inadequate basis on which to formulate relevant policy. The next section outlines some of the main policy implications that emerge out of the findings of this study, which has sought to offer a relatively detached analysis of young people's lives in the hope of contributing to the development of more reality-oriented knowledge.

Several authors (see, for example, Coalter, 1999; Roberts, 1999) have pointed to the, perhaps inevitable, numerous limitations of policy in relation to participation in sport

and leisure among young people and adults alike. They point out that participation is often enabled and constrained by a wide variety of issues beyond the direct control of policy-makers and this comes to limit the extent to which policy recommendations can make the kind of impact intended or desired by policy-makers. Thus, the following recommendations which are based the findings of the present study for policy-makers should be set against the backdrop of such limitations. Such recommendations should also be seen as constituting not what policy-makers *ought* to do, but what is in fact within the *realms of possibility* should they wish to develop strategies that enable them to exercise greater control over the sporting and leisure lives of young people.

Perhaps the overarching message of this study, in policy terms, is the support the findings provide for Coalter's (1999: 24) comment that it would be better for policy-makers 'to "flow with the flow" rather than try to "buck the trends" of patterns of sports participation' and preferences among young people, if it is their intention to maintain and enhance levels of sport and physical activity participation whilst ensuring that these remain an aspect of young people's leisure lives (Coalter, 1999; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b; Roberts and Brodie, 1992). This would involve, among other things, identifying empirically observable patterns of social life and ensuring that sport and other leisure activities are offered to young people in ways that are consistent with those patterns evident in their lives.

For example, the findings in this study indicate that there currently appears to be a degree of mismatch or relative autonomy between the kinds of activities 15-16-year-olds experience as part of PE and their current leisure involvement (Green *et al.*,

2005a; Kirk, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Roberts, 1996a). Thus, if it is an aim of policy-makers and teachers to promote participation and improve the degree to which pupils are able to derive greater satisfying experiences from PE, particularly in the later secondary years, then providing youngsters with PE curricula and experiences that are more congruent with their *actual* present-day sporting and lifestyle preferences would seem to be one of the more realistic policy options that needs to be considered (Green *et al.*, 2005a). One aspect of such a policy may be the provision – alongside the sports and activities already available – of a greater degree of activity choice for young people in PE that enables them to do what they want and with whom they want more so than they are able currently. In other words, if policy-makers and teachers employ strategies that focus on making KS4 PE in particular a context in which young people are able to participate more recreationally and in a more leisure-oriented manner with friends, then such policies are more likely to 'work with the grain of young people's predispositions and interests, rather than work against them' (Feinstein *et al.*, 2006: 324).

In a not dissimilar way, while policy-makers may be sceptical about the value of relatively unstructured ways in which 15-16-year-olds participate in leisure-sport and physical activity in particular, promoting more individualized lifestyle activities alongside team sports that can be played more informally or in modified ways (for example, 5-a-side or kick-about football) would appear – on the basis of the evidence outlined in this thesis – to be one of the most effective ways of promoting participation. Not only would such strategies be more consistent with actual trends in youth sport and physical activity participation, they would match more closely young people's preferred sport and leisure styles and preferences because they would

promote activities that can be done individually, or by small groups, at times of their own choosing, and which allow them to participate with friends (Feinstein *et al.*, 2006; Roberts, 1996a, 1996b).

The value that 15-16-year-olds themselves appear to see in self-organized adult-like activities and venues that currently attract them would also seem central to the choices they make in relation to the non-sporting dimensions of their leisure lives. In respect of this, the findings of this study indicated that as young people grow older they want increasingly to be treated as adults 'and have the opportunity to engage in the same or similar activities to those older than themselves' (Jeffs and Smith, 1998: 52). In the process they desire greater feelings of personal control and greater independence to engage in more individualized, adult-like, and often more commercially-oriented leisure activities and facilities (such as drinking in pubs and bars, going shopping and eating out) than they did in earlier periods of their lives. Simultaneously, the trend toward privatized leisure means that young people also spend significant amounts of time in the home, often listening to music, watching TV, and playing on computers among other things. An understanding of such trends would appear to be of particular value to policy-makers who may have a variety of interests in, for example, aspects of the youth leisure market, as well as the health implications that may arise in relation to various leisure activities that are believed to promote sedentariness (such as prolonged TV viewing) and that are often held to be 'unhealthy' or 'risk' behaviours (such as the regular consumption of alcohol or illegal drugs). These are issues that are worth considering in more detail.

Since the 1960s it has frequently been suggested in social policy that the provision of sport and physical activities can make an important contribution to reducing levels of sedentariness and legal and illegal drug use among young people, as well as being an effective vehicle for improving health and achieving other social objectives. Whilst such a perception is not wholly inaccurate, it is based on a one-sided understanding of the reality of young people's lives and largely ignores the fact that participating in sport and physical activities may not necessarily prevent young people from engaging leisure activities that are considered undesirable by some (Biddle *et al.*, 2005; Dunning and Waddington, 2003; Marshall *et al.*, 2002; Smith and Waddington, 2004, 2005). Indeed, the findings of this study provide further support for the long-established view that young people often engage in other kinds of leisure activities for much the same reason as they do sport and physical activity: they enjoy it and derive stimulating, exciting, and pleasurable experiences from engaging in them in the company of friends.

Another central finding of the study was that participating in sport and physical activity does not prevent 15-16-year-olds from engaging in more sedentary activities including prolonged TV viewing and playing computer games, nor did it prevent them from engaging in other commercially-oriented leisure activities and from consuming legal and illegal drugs. For many 15-16-year-olds 'sport was just one among many demands on their leisure time which had to be balanced' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 132). In this regard, the study revealed that if it is an objective of policy-makers to use sport and physical activities as vehicles of social policy in which the intention is to reduce levels of sedentariness, drug use or engagement in other kinds of leisure activities, then it is important to recognize that sport is 'just one

activity in (young people's) generally full and wide-ranging leisure lives' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 132). By appreciating what the available evidence indicates in this regard, policy-makers to be in a better position to be rather more realistic and cautious in the claims they make on behalf of sport, and to develop appropriate policies that are more likely to achieve rather more of their stated objectives.

Finally, the findings of this study also suggest that when developing and implementing policy it would be fruitful for policy-makers to focus upon young people not as individuals, but upon the dynamics of the relational networks in which they are located, and the ways in which these both enable and constrain what young people do in their lives. This would appear to be important not least because, as the findings of this and other studies have revealed, 'the camaraderie and sense of belonging that can be generated in a sport, activity or event' (Roberts, 1997: 9) in the company of others, but especially friends, can help to maintain and enhance young people's participation in a range of sport and leisure activities. Thus, whilst there are numerous difficulties involved that cannot be explored here, insofar as policy-makers and leisure providers are able to tailor aspects of their leisure-sport provision towards those youngsters who are 'bound into social networks in which sport activity (is) normal if not expected' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 39), then they are perhaps more likely to be successful in attracting larger numbers of young people (and adults) to use their facilities. By the same token, however, whilst the various sports and leisure activities in which the 15-16-year-olds in this study were involved supplied contexts for a range of peer group influences to which they were subject, some also valued participating individually. Consequently, it would appear that policy-makers – particularly those in the public sector – would also need to ensure that the relevant

facilities which younger people wish to use singly are available at a variety of locations and times.

Having considered the policy implications of the findings of this study, it is also worth outlining the sorts of questions which could not be addressed in detail here but should be central to future research that examines the place of sport and physical activity in the lives of young people.

Areas in need of further research

As noted in Chapter Three, insofar as this thesis incorporates a cross-sectional study of 15-16-year-olds, the findings were inevitably limited to a snapshot of what young people were doing at a particular point in their lives, and are reflective of a particular stage reached in the development of sport and leisure more generally. In his regard, since youth is an inherently transitional life stage, future research may wish to conduct a similar cross-sectional study of the same cohort of young people now they have left school to engage in how their lives are developing and changing further. More particularly, a study of this kind, and, perhaps a more longitudinal study, which examines the various transitions young people make throughout the course of their lives, would advance our understanding of the significance of the lengthening and increasing complexity of young people's relational networks for their involvement in sport and leisure.

The findings from this study also suggest a need to conduct further research into the exact nature of the relationship between PE and leisure-sport and physical activity participation. In particular, given that there appears to be a relative independence

between 15-16 year-olds' participation in NCPE and ECPE, and between both of these and their involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity, it would be interesting to conduct a similar study with a younger age group to examine whether participation in PE impacts upon the leisure-sport participation of younger people in KS3. Similarly, it would be interesting to conduct an intervention study at KS4 to examine whether shifting curricular and extra-curricular PE in the direction of young people's preferred sport and leisure styles, as noted above, might have a more tangible impact upon their participation in leisure-sport and physical activity.

In the light of the impact of the school setting and, in particular, the social class profile of schools, upon young people's experiences of and participation in PE, extra-curricular and leisure-sport and physical activity, there is a clear need to conduct to further research on the relationship between participation and the schools that young people attend. This may involve, among other things, conducting systematic case study comparisons of schools from diverse social backgrounds focusing, in particular, upon the kinds of PE curricular teachers offer to pupils, the nature of their extra-curricular PE provision, and the extent to which these are related to young people's involvement in leisure-sport and physical activity and the development of 'wide sporting repertoires'. Furthermore, as part of this, future studies would benefit from examining these interrelationships in various kinds of specialist schools, but especially SSCs which the findings of this study suggest may not be having the desired short- or long-term impact upon young people's participation in, and experiences of, PE and sport that is hoped for by policy-makers and government ministers.

Notwithstanding the impact of the school setting upon the young people's experiences of PE, the study also highlighted the continued significance of social class and gender to participation in leisure-sport and leisure more generally. In doing so it reinforces the observations that 'class makes its most decisive impact on sport participation during the critical life-stages of childhood, youth and young adulthood' (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: 60) and that young people on middle-class life courses are the ones most likely to be introduced to a wide range of sports and physical activities. In respect of this, it would be fruitful if future work also examines the class-related experiences of sport and leisure in young people's lives, for while this should be central to our understanding of young people's lifestyles, it remains a very much under-developed area of research in Britain.

Above all, however, it is important that future work involves a continuous cross-fertilization of theory-guided and empirically-informed research, not least because this is the only secure means of advancing our stock of reality-congruent and hence sociologically more adequate knowledge of the various interrelationships between young people, sport and leisure. It is hoped that this thesis, which is regarded as nothing more than a 'symptom of a beginning' (Elias, 1978) in the pursuit of developing a more adequate explanation of the place of sport and physical activity in young people's lives, has contributed in some small way to achieving that objective.

Appendices

Appendix A

Young People, Sport and Leisure Questionnaire

SECTION A

SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION (PE) LESSONS

On the next few pages is a list of sports and physical activities.

Which of the following activities, if any, have you done in PE LESSONS in the LAST 12 MONTHS and approximately how often have you done them?

If you have NOT done an activity, please leave the boxes BLANK.

Games:	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 or more times
Football	☐	☐
Hockey	☐	☐
Basketball	☐	☐
Baseball	☐	☐
Rugby Union	☐	☐
Rugby League	☐	☐
Netball	☐	☐
Cricket	☐	☐
Tennis	☐	☐
Table Tennis	☐	☐
Squash	☐	☐
Badminton	☐	☐
Golf	☐	☐
Rounders	☐	☐
Volleyball	☐	☐
Softball	☐	☐
Handball	☐	☐
Lacrosse	☐	☐
Tenpin Bowls	☐	☐
Darts	☐	☐
Bowls (carpet, lawn)	☐	☐
Snooker / billiards	☐	☐
Pool	☐	☐

Swimming:	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 or more times
Swimming	☐	☐
Diving	☐	☐

Outdoor and Adventurous Activities:	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 or more times
Skiing	☐	☐
Climbing / abseiling	☐	☐
Pot-holing	☐	☐
Cycling	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐
Orienteering	☐	☐
Walking (for more than an 1 hour)	☐	☐
Horse riding, pony trekking	☐	☐
Rowing	☐	☐
Water-skiing	☐	☐
Canoeing	☐	☐
Sailing	☐	☐
Windsurfing	☐	☐
Surfing	☐	☐
Sub-aqua / snorkelling	☐	☐
Motor sports, go-karting	☐	☐
Athletics, Gymnastic & Fitness Activities:		
Athletics (Track & Field)	☐	☐
Gymnastics	☐	☐
Cross-country	☐	☐
Running / jogging	☐	☐
Trampolining	☐	☐
Aerobics	☐	☐
Circuit training	☐	☐
Multi-Gym / fitness	☐	☐
Weight training	☐	☐
Yoga	☐	☐
Combat Sports & Martial Arts		
Boxing	☐	☐
Judo	☐	☐
Karate, aikido	☐	☐
Tai Chi	☐	☐
Dance and Skating:		
Dance classes	☐	☐
Ice skating	☐	☐
Roller blading, roller skating	☐	☐
Skateboarding	☐	☐

If all the sports and physical activities you have done in the LAST 12 MONTHS which activities, if any, did you enjoy the MOST?

Write in up to 3 activities you enjoyed the MOST in the space below.

or I did not enjoy any ☐

---

all the sports and physical activities you have done in the LAST 12 MONTHS which tivities, if any, did you enjoy the LEAST?

te in up to 3 activities you enjoyed the LEAST in the space below.

or I enjoyed them all ☐

SECTION B - SPORT & PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR PHYSICAL EDUCATION

ext few pages ask you about those sports and physical activities that you did as part of A-CURRICULAR PE in the last 12 MONTHS.

-curricular PE is those sports and physical activities ORGANISED BY SCHOOL but done IDE OF NORMAL SCHOOL LESSONS (such as before and after school, at lunchtimes veekends).

Have you done any sports or physical activities in EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE in the LAST 12 MONTHS? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

No ☐ Go to question B8

Yes ☐

How many times, if at all, have you done any of the following sports or physical activities in EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE in the LAST 12 MONTHS and which ones have you done in the PAST but DO NOT DO NOW?

If you have NEVER done an activity, please leave the boxes BLANK.

Games:	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 times or more	Did in past but not now
Football	☐	☐	☐
Hockey	☐	☐	☐
Basketball	☐	☐	☐
Baseball	☐	☐	☐
Rugby Union	☐	☐	☐
Rugby League	☐	☐	☐
Netball	☐	☐	☐
Cricket	☐	☐	☐
Tennis	☐	☐	☐
Table Tennis	☐	☐	☐
Squash	☐	☐	☐
Badminton	☐	☐	☐
Golf	☐	☐	☐
Rounders	☐	☐	☐
Volleyball	☐	☐	☐
Softball	☐	☐	☐
Handball	☐	☐	☐
Lacrosse	☐	☐	☐
Tenpin Bowls	☐	☐	☐
Darts	☐	☐	☐

Games (contd):	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 times or more	Did in past but not now
Bowls (carpet, lawn)	☐	☐	☐
Snooker / billiards	☐	☐	☐
Pool	☐	☐	☐
Swimming:			
Swimming	☐	☐	☐
Diving	☐	☐	☐
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities:			
Skiing	☐	☐	☐
Climbing / abseiling	☐	☐	☐
Pot-holing	☐	☐	☐
Cycling	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐
Orienteering	☐	☐	☐
Walking (for more than an 1 hour)	☐	☐	☐
Horse riding, pony trekking	☐	☐	☐
Rowing	☐	☐	☐
Water-skiing	☐	☐	☐
Canoeing	☐	☐	☐
Sailing	☐	☐	☐
Windsurfing	☐	☐	☐
Surfing	☐	☐	☐
Sub-aqua / snorkelling	☐	☐	☐
Motor sports, go-karting	☐	☐	☐
Athletics, Gymnastic & Fitness Activities:			
Athletics (Track & Field)	☐	☐	☐
Gymnastics	☐	☐	☐
Cross-country	☐	☐	☐
Running / jogging	☐	☐	☐
Trampolining	☐	☐	☐
Aerobics	☐	☐	☐
Circuit training	☐	☐	☐
Multi-Gym / fitness	☐	☐	☐
Weight training	☐	☐	☐
Yoga	☐	☐	☐

Combat Sports & Martial Arts	Yes, less than 10 times	Yes, 10 times or more	Did in past but not now
Boxing	☐	☐	☐
Judo	☐	☐	☐
Karate, aikido	☐	☐	☐
Tai Chi	☐	☐	☐
Dance and Skating:			
Dance classes	☐	☐	☐
Ice skating	☐	☐	☐
Roller blading, roller skating	☐	☐	☐
Skateboarding	☐	☐	☐

On average, about how <u>MUCH TIME</u> have you spent <u>EACH WEEK</u> doing sport or physical activity in <u>EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE</u> in the <u>LAST 12 MONTHS</u>? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- ☐ Less than 1 hour
- ☐ 1 - 5 hours
- ☐ 6 - 10 hours
- ☐ 11 - 15 hours
- ☐ 16 hours or more

On average, about how <u>OFTEN</u> did you do <u>EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE EACH WEEK</u> in the <u>LAST 12 MONTHS</u>? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- ☐ Once a week
- ☐ Twice a week
- ☐ 3 - 4 times a week
- ☐ 5 - 6 times a week
- ☐ Everyday

Of all the sports and physical activities you have done in EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE in the LAST 12 MONTHS which activities, if any, did you enjoy the MOST?

Write in up to 3 activities you enjoyed the MOST in the space below.

1.

2.

3.

or I did not enjoy any ☐

Of all the sports and physical activities you have done in EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE in the LAST 12 MONTHS which activities, if any, did you enjoy the LEAST?

Write in up to 3 activities you enjoyed the LEAST in the space below.

1.

2.

3.

or I enjoyed them all ☐

How important is it to you to do EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE with your FRIENDS?

TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Very important ☐
- Important ☐
- Not important ☐
- Not important at all ☐

Are there any sports or physical activities <u>YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO</u> in <u>EXTRA-CURRICULAR PE</u> that are <u>NOT</u> currently provided by your school?

TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

NO ☐ Go to Section C

YES ☐ **If YES**: Write in the space below all of those sports or physical activities that you would like to do in extra-curricular PE that are NOT currently provided by your school.

SECTION C
SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN YOUR SPARE TIME

is section asks you questions about what sports and physical activities you do in your ARE TIME outside school.

PARE TIME is when you are away from school and does NOT include any sport or physical ivity you do in extra-curricular PE).

Have you done ANY sport or physical activities in your SPARE TIME OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL in the LAST 12 MONTHS? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

NO ☐ Go to question C11
YES ☐

On average, about how OFTEN do you take part in any of the following sports or physical ctivities in your SPARE TIME NOW, and which ones did you do in the PAST but DO NOT O NOW?

you have NEVER done an activity, please leave the boxes BLANK.

	Three times or more a week	Twice a week	Once a week	2 - 3 times a month	Once a month	Did in the past but not now
ootball (11-a-side)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ootball (5-a-side)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ootball (Kick-about)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ockey	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
asketball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
aseball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ugby Union	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ugby League	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
etball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ricket	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ennis	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
able tennis	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
quash	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
adminton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
olf	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ounders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
olleyball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
oftball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
andball	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
acrosse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Three times or more a week	Twice a week	Once a week	2 - 3 times a month	Once a month	Did in the past but not now
Games (contd):						
Tenpin Bowls	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Darts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bowls (carpet / lawn)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Snooker / billiards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pool	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Swimming:						
Swimming	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diving	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Outdoor & Adventurous Activities:						
Skiing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Climbing / abseiling	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pot-holing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cycling, riding a bike	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Orienteering	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Walking (more than 1 hour)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Horse riding, pony trekking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rowing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Water-skiing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Canoeing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sailing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Windsurfing, surfing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sub-aqua	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Motor sports, go-karting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Athletics, Gymnastic & Fitness Activities:						
Athletics (Track & Field)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gymnastics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cross-country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Running / Jogging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trampolining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aerobics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Circuit training	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Multi-Gym / fitness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Weight training	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yoga	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Three times or more a week	Twice a week	Once a week	2 - 3 times a month	Once a month	Did in the past but not now
ombat Sports & Martial Arts						
oxing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
udo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
arate, aikido	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ai Chi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ance and Skating:						
ance classes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e skating	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
oller blading, roller skating	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
kateboarding	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On average, about how MUCH TIME did you spend EACH WEEK doing sport or physical activity in your SPARE TIME in the LAST 12 MONTHS? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 5 hours ☐
- 6 - 10 hours ☐
- 11 - 15 hours ☐
- 16 hours or more ☐

On average, about how OFTEN did you spend EACH WEEK doing sport or physical activity in your SPARE TIME in the LAST 12 MONTHS? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Once a week ☐
- Twice a week ☐
- 3 - 4 times a week ☐
- 5 - 6 times a week ☐
- Everyday ☐

On average, about how OFTEN, if at all, did you visit a SPORTS OR LEISURE CENTRE to play sport or do physical activity in the LAST 12 MONTHS? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Everyday ☐
- 5 - 6 times a week ☐
- 3 - 4 times a week ☐
- Twice a week ☐
- Once a week ☐
- 2 - 3 times a month ☐
- Once a month ☐
- I never go to a sports or leisure centre ☐

Which sports or physical activities did you usually do at a SPORTS OR LEISURE CENTRE in the LAST 12 MONTHS?

Write in those activities you usually did in the space below.

Compared to other young people of YOUR AGE, do you think that in your SPARE TIME you:

TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Do a lot more sport & physical activity ☐
- Do slightly more sport & physical activity ☐
- Do about the same amount of sport & physical activity ☐
- Do slightly less sport & physical activity ☐
- Do a lot less sport & physical activity ☐

How important do young people of <u>YOUR AGE</u> think it is to play sport or do physical activity? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Important
- ☐ Not important
- ☐ Not important at all

With whom, if anyone, do you usually play sport or do physical activity at these places in your <u>SPARE TIME</u>? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

al Sports club / team

- ☐ go on my own
- ☐ Boyfriend / girlfriend
- ☐ Step Mother (or, foster Mother)
- ☐ Step Father (or, foster Father)
- ☐ Father's partner
- ☐ Sister(s) (including step & half sisters)
- ☐ With my friends
- ☐ Mother
- ☐ Father
- ☐ Mother's partner
- ☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
- ☐ None of these

h club

- ☐ go on my own
- ☐ oyfriend / girlfriend
- ☐ tep Mother (or, foster Mother)
- ☐ tep Father (or, foster Father)
- ☐ ather's partner
- ☐ ister(s) (including step & half sisters)
- ☐ With my friends
- ☐ Mother
- ☐ Father
- ☐ Mother's partner
- ☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
- ☐ None of these

ure / sports centre

go on my own	☐ With my friends
Boyfriend / girlfriend	☐ Mother
Step Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐ Father
Step Father (or, foster Father)	☐ Mother's partner
Father's partner	☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
Sister(s) (including step & half sisters)	☐ None of these

/ health club

go on my own	☐ With my friends
Boyfriend / girlfriend	☐ Mother
Step Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐ Father
Step Father (or, foster Father)	☐ Mother's partner
Father's partner	☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
Sister(s) (including step & half sisters)	☐ None of these

ure centre swimming pool

go on my own	☐ With my friends
oyfriend / girlfriend	☐ Mother
tep Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐ Father
tep Father (or, foster Father)	☐ Mother's partner
ather's partner	☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
ister(s) (including step & half sisters)	☐ None of these

er / poolhall

o on my own	☐ With my friends
yfriend / girlfriend	☐ Mother
ep Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐ Father
ep Father (or, foster Father)	☐ Mother's partner
ther's partner	☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
ter(s) (including step & half sisters)	☐ None of these

park / street / playing fields

o on my own	☐ With my friends
yfriend / girlfriend	☐ Mother
ep Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐ Father
ep Father (or, foster Father)	☐ Mother's partner
ther's partner	☐ Brother(s) (including step & half brothers)
ter(s) (including step & half sisters)	☐ None of these

e is a list of statements that describe why young people like you might take part in ort and physical activity in their SPARE TIME.

K ONE BOX ON EACH LINE TO SAY IF YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT.

ke part in sport and physical activity in my SPARE TIME:

	Agree	Disagree
cause I enjoy it	☐	☐
cause I am good at it	☐	☐
cause I like competition	☐	☐
improve my health / keep fit	☐	☐
relax / relieve stress	☐	☐
improve my performance	☐	☐
improve my appearance / body	☐	☐
be with my friends	☐	☐
be with my family	☐	☐

re is a list of statements that describe why young people like you might NOT take part MORE sport and physical activity in their SPARE TIME.

CK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE TO SAY IF YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT.

lo NOT take part in MORE sport and physical activity in my SPARE TIME because:

	Agree	Disagree
health / medical reasons	☐	☐
on't have enough time	☐	☐
an't afford it	☐	☐
m not interested in it	☐	☐
m not good at it	☐	☐
o not like getting hot & sweaty	☐	☐
o not like competition	☐	☐
ight get hurt	☐	☐
o not like playing in bad weather	☐	☐
et embarrassed	☐	☐
refer to do other things in my spare time	☐	☐
e facilities are too far away	☐	☐
o not have any transport	☐	☐
friends do not do any	☐	☐
family do not do any	☐	☐
family do not encourage me to do any	☐	☐

you think that you will take part in sport or other physical activities in your SPARE ME when you leave school?

No ☐
Yes ☐

Yes: Which of the following sports and physical activities, if any, do you think you will do in ur spare time, when you are aged 21, 30 and 50 years old. TICK ONLY THOSE THAT APPLY TO U.

	21	30	50+
Football (11-a-side)	☐	☐	☐
Football (5-a-side)	☐	☐	☐
Football (kick-about)	☐	☐	☐
Hockey	☐	☐	☐
Basketball	☐	☐	☐
Baseball	☐	☐	☐
Rugby Union	☐	☐	☐
Rugby League	☐	☐	☐
Netball	☐	☐	☐

	21	30	50+
Cricket	☐	☐	☐
Tennis	☐	☐	☐
Table Tennis	☐	☐	☐
Squash	☐	☐	☐
Badminton	☐	☐	☐
Golf	☐	☐	☐
Rounders	☐	☐	☐
Volleyball	☐	☐	☐
Softball	☐	☐	☐
Handball	☐	☐	☐
Lacrosse	☐	☐	☐
Tenpin Bowls	☐	☐	☐
Darts	☐	☐	☐
Bowls (carpet, lawn)	☐	☐	☐
Snooker / billiards	☐	☐	☐
Pool	☐	☐	☐
Swimming	☐	☐	☐
Diving	☐	☐	☐
Skiing	☐	☐	☐
Climbing / abseiling	☐	☐	☐
Pot-holing	☐	☐	☐
Cycling	☐	☐	☐
Fishing	☐	☐	☐
Orienteering	☐	☐	☐
Walking (for more than an 1 hour)	☐	☐	☐
Horse riding, pony trekking	☐	☐	☐
Rowing	☐	☐	☐
Water-skiing	☐	☐	☐
Canoeing	☐	☐	☐
Sailing	☐	☐	☐
Wind surfing	☐	☐	☐
Surfing	☐	☐	☐
Sub-aqua / snorkelling	☐	☐	☐
Motor sports / go-karting	☐	☐	☐
Athletics (Track & Field)	☐	☐	☐
Gymnastics	☐	☐	☐
Cross-country	☐	☐	☐
Running / jogging	☐	☐	☐
Trampolining	☐	☐	☐

	21	30	50+
Aerobics	☐	☐	☐
Circuit training	☐	☐	☐
Multi-Gym / Fitness	☐	☐	☐
Weight training	☐	☐	☐
Yoga	☐	☐	☐
Boxing	☐	☐	☐
Judo	☐	☐	☐
Karate, aikido	☐	☐	☐
Tai Chi	☐	☐	☐
Dance classes	☐	☐	☐
Ice skating	☐	☐	☐
Roller blading, roller skating	☐	☐	☐
Skateboarding	☐	☐	☐

SECTION D

YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

inally, we would like to know a little bit about you. Remember, you are NOT asked write your name on the questionnaire so NO ONE will be able to identify you.

re you male or female? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Male ☐
- Female ☐

How old were you on your last birthday? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- 15 years old ☐
- 16 years old ☐
- 17 years old ☐

Which of the following statements, if any, best describes you? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- White British ☐
- White - Any other background ☐
- Mixed - White & Black Caribbean ☐
- Mixed - White & Black African ☐
- Mixed - White & Asian ☐
- Mixed - Any other mixed background ☐
- Asian or Asian British - Indian ☐
- Asian or Asian British - Pakistani ☐
- Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi ☐
- Asian or Asian British - Any other Asian background ☐
- Black or Black British - Caribbean ☐
- Black or Black British - African ☐
- Black or Black British - Any other background ☐
- Chinese ☐
- Any other ethnic group ☐

(TICK THE BOX AND WRITE IN YOUR ANSWER BELOW)

hich of the following, if any, best describes your religious background?
K ONE BOX ONLY.

I do not follow any religion	☐
Church of England / Protestant	☐
Catholic	☐
Hindu	☐
Buddhist	☐
Jewish	☐
Sikh	☐
Muslim	☐
None of these (TICK THE BOX AND WRITE IN YOUR ANSWER BELOW)	☐

o you currently qualify for a free school meal? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

No	☐
Yes	☐

o you currently have a disability or long-term illness? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

No	☐
Yes	☐

Yes: please write what disability (or disabilities) or long-term illness you have in the space below.

o you currently have any special educational need(s)? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

No	☐
Yes	☐

Yes: please write what special educational need(s) you have in the space below.

In your opinion, how would you currently rate your health? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Very good ☐
- Good ☐
- Fair ☐
- Bad ☐
- Very bad ☐

Are you doing GCSE PE this year? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐
- Yes ☐

Are you doing GCSE Dance this year? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐
- Yes ☐

What, if anything, do you intend to be doing in <u>12 MONTHS TIME</u>? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Doing GCSE's ☐
- Go to College to do 'AS' / 'A' levels ☐
- Go to College to do a vocational course (e.g. NVQ's) ☐
- Do a modern apprenticeship (or other Government supported training ☐
- Get a job (Please tick the box and write in your answer below) ☐

None of these (Please tick the box and write in your answer below) ☐

Which of the following people usually live with you? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

- Mother ☐
- Step Mother (or foster Mother) ☐
- Father ☐
- Step Father (or foster Father) ☐
- Mother's Partner ☐
- Father's Partner ☐
- Brother(s) (including step and half brothers) ☐
- Sister(s) (including step and half sisters) ☐
- My boyfriend / girlfriend ☐
- None of these (Please tick the box and write in your answer below) ☐

low <u>OFTEN,</u> if at all, did any of the following people usually play sport or do physical ctivity <u>EACH WEEK</u> in the <u>LAST 12 MONTHS</u>? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	everyday	4-6 times a week	2-3 times a week	once a week	2-3 times a month	once a month
r	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother (or foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ather (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
r's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
r(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
friend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

THIS IS THE END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR HELPING US BY FILLING IT IN.

PLEASE PLACE THE QUESTIONNAIRE INTO THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

SECTION E

THINGS YOUNG PEOPLE DO IN THEIR SPARE TIME

s section asks you questions about what things you do in your SPARE TIME. nember this refers to ONLY those things you do in your SPARE TIME OUTSIDE of ool.

n average, about how OFTEN do you do the following things in your SPARE TIME?
ICK ONLY ONE BOX ON EACH LINE.

you do not do an activity then please leave the boxes BLANK.

	everyday	4-6 times a week	2-3 times a week	once a week	2-3 times a month	once a month
ead books / magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
omework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lay computer games	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isit the cinema	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isit the local park	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isit the local youth club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
eet friends and hang around	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
it & talk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
o to a club / party / disco	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isit the local pub / bar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
earn / play an instrument	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
o shopping with friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isten to music at home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
etting / gambling	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
oluntary/community work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
isit an amusement arcade	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
rink alcohol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
moke cigarettes / tobacco	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
se illegal drugs e.g. cannabis, cocaine, heroin, ecstasy)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

hat other kinds of things, if any, do you do with your friends when you just 'hang round' in your SPARE TIME? WRITE IN ANY OTHER THINGS YOU DO IN THE SPACE BELOW.

On a SCHOOL DAY (Monday to Friday), about how MANY HOURS, if any, would you usually spend watching TV, videos or DVDs when you get home? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No time at all ☐
- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 3 hours ☐
- 4 - 6 hours ☐
- 7 hours or more ☐

On average, about how MANY HOURS, if any, do you usually spend watching TV, videos or DVDs AT THE WEEKEND (Saturday & Sunday)? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No time at all ☐
- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 3 hours ☐
- 4 - 6 hours ☐
- 7 - 9 hours ☐
- 10 - 12 hours ☐
- 13 - 15 hours ☐
- 16 hours or more ☐

On average, about how much, if any, 'LIVE' PROFESSIONAL SPORT do you watch ON TV EACH WEEK? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No time at all ☐ Go to Question E8
- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 3 hours ☐
- 4 - 6 hours ☐
- 7 - 9 hours ☐
- 10 - 12 hours ☐
- 13 - 15 hours ☐
- 16 hours or more ☐

With whom, if anyone, do you usually watch 'LIVE' PROFESSIONAL SPORT ON TV at the following places? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	My home	Friends home	Boyfriend / girlfriends home	Pub / bar	Sports club
On my own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Father (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sister(s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My boyfriend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

With whom, if anyone, do you usually watch HIGHLIGHTS OF PROFESSIONAL SPORT ON TV (e.g. programmes such as 'The Premiership') at the following places?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	My home	Friends home	Boyfriend / girlfriends home	Pub / bar	Sports club
On my own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Mother (or, foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Father (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sister(s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My boyfriend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

On average, how OFTEN, if at all, do you go to watch 'LIVE' PROFESSIONAL SPORT at A SPORTS GROUND OR STADIUM EACH MONTH? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Never ☐ Go to Question E11
- Once a month ☐
- Twice a month ☐
- Three times a month ☐
- Four times or more a month ☐

ith whom, if anyone, do you USUALLY go to watch 'LIVE' PROFESSIONAL SPORT at A PORTS GROUND OR STADIUM? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

- On my own ☐
- Friends ☐
- Mother ☐
- Step Mother (or, foster Mother) ☐
- Father ☐
- Step Father (or, foster Father) ☐
- Mother's partner ☐
- Father's partner ☐
- Brother(s) (including step & half brothers) ☐
- Sister(s) (including step & half sisters) ☐
- My boyfriend / girlfriend ☐
- Other relatives ☐

/hen you go to watch 'LIVE' PROFESSIONAL SPORT at A SPORTS GROUND OR TADIUM, which sports do you usually go to see?

rite in those sports that you usually watch in the space below.

n a SCHOOL DAY (Monday to Friday), about how MANY HOURS, if any, would you sually spend playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other an homework? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No time at all ☐
- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 3 hours ☐
- 4 - 6 hours ☐
- 7 hours or more ☐

On average, about how many hours, if any, do you <u>USUALLY</u> spend playing computer games or using the Internet and email for things other than homework <u>AT THE WEEKEND</u> (Saturday and Sunday)? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- ☐ No time at all
- ☐ Less than 1 hour
- ☐ 1 - 3 hours
- ☐ 4 - 6 hours
- ☐ 7 - 9 hours
- ☐ 10 - 12 hours
- ☐ 13 hours or more

SECTION F

YOUNG PEOPLE, EMPLOYMENT AND MONEY

Do you currently have a regular paid job during term-time at school?

No ☐ Go to Question F5
Yes ☐

What type of regular job do you do during term-time at school? Tick the ONE job that best describes what YOU do.

- Working in a shop / supermarket ☐
- Paper / milk round ☐
- Babysitting ☐
- Manual work ☐
- Working in a pub, bar, or hotel ☐
- Paid housework ☐
- None of these (Please tick the box & write in your answer space below) ☐

On average, about how MANY HOURS do you usually work for money EACH WEEK during term-time? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Less than 1 hour ☐
- 1 - 3 hours ☐
- 4 - 6 hours ☐
- 7 - 9 hours ☐
- 10 - 12 hours ☐
- 13 - 15 hours ☐
- 16 hours or more ☐

On average, about how MUCH do you usually earn EACH WEEK from your regular job during term-time? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Up to £5.00 ☐
- £5.01 - £10.00 ☐
- £10.01 - £20.00 ☐
- £20.01 - £30.00 ☐
- £30.01 - £40.00 ☐
- £40.01 or more ☐

On average, about how MUCH money, if any, do you receive EACH WEEK as pocket money? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Up to £5 ☐
- £5.01 - £10.00 ☐
- £10.01 - £20.00 ☐
- £20.01 - £30.00 ☐
- £30.01 or more ☐

On average, about how MUCH, if any, money do you spend on the following items EACH MONTH? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	Up to £5	£5.01 - £10.00	£10.01 - £20.00	£20.01 - £30.00	£30.01 or more
Alcohol	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Arcade games / gambling	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Books	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cigarettes / rollups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Clothes & footwear	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Clubs / discos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Computer games	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cosmetics / toiletries	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cake	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crisps	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fares	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
DVDs / Videos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fast Food (hot) (eg: Pizza Hut, McDonalds)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fresh fruit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Leisure / sports centre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Music (eg: CDs, records, MP3s)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
National Lottery tickets / scratch cards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
School equipment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fizzy Drinks (e.g. Coca-Cola)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sweets	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Youth Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Here is a list of things to do with sport and physical activity that young people might spend their money on in their SPARE TIME. On average, about HOW MUCH, if any, money do you spend on each of the following things EACH WEEK?

TICK ONE BOX ONLY ON EACH LINE.

you do not usually spend your money on any of these items, then please leave the boxes BLANK.

	Up to £5	£5.01 - £10	£10.01 - £20	£20.01 - £30	£30.01 or more
ssion charges g: ticket money)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
l costs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ership fees (eg: for alth club, gym)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
equipment (eg: clothing, otwear, rackets)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
/ fitness magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
drinks & supplements g: lucozade)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
videos, DVD's	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION G

HER LIFESTYLE ISSUES (DRINKING, SMOKING AND DRUG USE)

ection asks you questions about whether you drink alcohol, smoke cigarettes or use drugs.

mber your answers are entirely CONFIDENTIAL. They will NOT be shown to your r, parents, school or friends. So please answer HONESTLY.

Do you drink alcohol (including alcopops, beer, lager, cider, wine & spirits)?

No	☐ Go to Question G5
Yes	☐

f yes: On how many days EACH WEEK do you usually drink alcohol ?
ICK ONE BOX ONLY.

Less than once a week	☐
One	☐
Two	☐
Three	☐
Four	☐
Five days or more	☐

On average, about how MANY alcoholic drinks (including alcopops, beer, lager, cider, wine & spirits) do you usually drink EACH WEEK? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

1 drink equals 1 pint, 1 bottle of alcopops, 2 shorts or 2 glasses of wine)

None	☐
Less than 3 drinks	☐
3 - 10 drinks	☐
11 - 15 drinks	☐
16 - 20 drinks	☐
20 drinks or more	☐

With whom, if anyone, do you usually drink alcohol at the following places?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	Pub / bar	Club / disco	At a party	My home	Friends home	Boyfriends/ Girlfriends house	School	Local park / street	Other relatives house
On my own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Mother (or foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Father (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sister(s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My boyfriend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Compared to other young people of YOUR AGE, do you think that EACH WEEK you:
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Drink a lot more alcohol than them ☐
- Drink slightly more alcohol than them ☐
- Drink about the same amount of alcohol as them ☐
- Drink slightly less alcohol than them ☐
- Drink a lot less alcohol than them ☐

How much do you think it matters to young people of YOUR AGE, to drink alcohol?
TICK ONE BOX ONLY

- It matters a lot ☐
- It matters a little ☐
- It does not matter ☐
- It does not matter at all ☐

o you smoke cigarettes (including rollups)?

No ☐ Go to Question G10

Yes ☐

yes: On how many days EACH WEEK do you usually smoke cigarettes?
CK ONE BOX ONLY.

Less than once a week ☐
One ☐
Two ☐
Three ☐
Four ☐
Five days or more ☐

n average, about how MANY cigarettes do you usually smoke EACH WEEK?
CK ONE BOX ONLY.

None ☐
1 - 5 cigarettes ☐
6 - 10 cigarettes ☐
11 - 15 cigarettes ☐
16 - 25 cigarettes ☐
26 - 35 cigarettes ☐
36 - 45 cigarettes ☐
46 or more cigarettes ☐

ith whom, if anyone, do you usually smoke cigarettes at the following places?
CK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	Pub / bar	Club / disco	At a party	My home	Friends home	Boyfriends/ Girlfriends house	School	Local park / street	Other relatives house
n my own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
riends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
tep Mother (or foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ather	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
tep Father (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lother's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ather's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
rother(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ister(s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
y boyfriend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ther relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Compared to other young people of YOUR AGE, do you think that EACH WEEK you:
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Smoke a lot more cigarettes than them ☐
- Smoke slightly more cigarettes than them ☐
- Smoke about the same amount of cigarettes as them ☐
- Smoke slightly less cigarettes than them ☐
- Smoke a lot less cigarettes than them ☐

How much do you think it matters to young people of YOUR AGE, to smoke cigarettes?
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- It matters a lot ☐
- It matters a little ☐
- It does not matter ☐
- It does not matter at all ☐

Have you EVER used illegal drugs of any kind (including, cannabis / marijuana, heroin, ecstasy, cocaine? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐ Go to Question G18
- Yes ☐

If yes: Which of the following drugs have you used? TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

- Cannabis / marijuana ☐
- Ecstasy ☐
- Heroin ☐
- Cocaine powder ☐
- Crack cocaine ☐
- Solvents (e.g. gas) ☐
- LSD ☐
- Magic mushrooms ☐
- Amphetamines ☐
- Amyl nitrates (poppers) ☐
- Semeron ☐

Have you used illegal drugs of any kind in THE PAST MONTH? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐ Go to Question G14
- Yes ☐

If yes: Which of the following drugs have you used in THE PAST MONTH?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

- Cannabis / marijuana ☐
- Ecstasy ☐
- Heroin ☐
- Cocaine powder ☐
- Crack cocaine ☐
- Solvents (e.g. gas) ☐
- LSD ☐
- Magic mushrooms ☐
- Amphetamines ☐
- Amyl nitrates (poppers) ☐
- Semeron ☐

How many times have you used illegal drugs in THE PAST MONTH?
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Once ☐
- Twice ☐
- Three times ☐
- More than three times ☐

Have you used illegal drugs of any kind in THE PAST WEEK? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐ Go to Question G18
- Yes ☐

If yes: Which of the following drugs have you used in THE PAST WEEK?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

- Cannabis / marijuana ☐
- Ecstasy ☐
- Heroin ☐
- Cocaine powder ☐
- Crack cocaine ☐
- Solvents (e.g. gas) ☐
- LSD ☐
- Magic mushrooms ☐
- Amphetamines ☐
- Amyl nitrates (poppers) ☐
- Semeron ☐

How many times have you used illegal drugs in THE PAST WEEK? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Once ☐
- Twice ☐
- Three times ☐
- More than three times ☐

With whom, if anyone, do you usually use illegal drugs at the following places?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY TO YOU.

	Pub / bar	Club / disco	At a party	My home	Friends home	Boyfriends/ Girlfriends house	School	Local park / street	Other relatives house
On my own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Mother (or foster Mother)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Step Father (or foster Father)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father's Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother(s) (including step and half brothers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sister(s) (including step and half sisters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My boyfriend / girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Compared to other young people of YOUR AGE, do you think that EACH WEEK you:
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- Use a lot more illegal drugs than them ☐
- Use slightly more illegal drugs than them ☐
- Use about the same amount of illegal drugs as them ☐
- Use slightly less illegal drugs than them ☐
- Use a lot less illegal drugs than them ☐

Have any of your closest friends EVER used illegal drugs? TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- No ☐
- Not sure ☐
- Yes ☐

How many, if any, of your closest friends CURRENTLY use illegal drugs EACH WEEK?
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- None ☐
- 1 - 3 ☐
- 4 - 7 ☐
- 8 - 11 ☐
- 12 or more ☐
- Not sure ☐

How much do you think it matters to young people of YOUR AGE, to use illegal drugs?
TICK ONE BOX ONLY.

- It matters a lot ☐
- It matters a little ☐
- It does not matter ☐
- It does not matter at all ☐

THIS IS THE END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR HELPING US BY FILLING IT IN.

PLEASE PLACE THE QUESTIONNAIRE INTO THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

Appendix B

Focus Group Schedule Outline

Focus Group Schedule Outline

Leisure-sport and physical activity

- What sports or physical activities, if any, do you currently do in your spare time?
- How often do you do those things? How long would you usually spend doing them?
- Where do you do these kinds of sports and physical activities?
- Are these formally organised activities? Are these mainly club-based activities?
- Do you do any sport or physical activity informally? Recreationally?
- Do you come back to use the gym in your spare time then?
- Where are you doing these things that are not done at a club?
- What do you find particularly attractive about these activities?
- What makes the kinds of activities you do in your spare time attractive to you?
- How typical do you think you are of other lads/girls in your year in terms of the kinds of sport and activities you do in your spare time?

Other uses of leisure

- What other kinds of things do you do in your spare time?
- What do you do when you go out?
- Can you describe a typical weekday evening from when you leave school at 3.30pm?
- What do you do at the weekend? What do you do when you 'hang around'?
- Who do you go out with?
- How often do you go out with friends each week? Where do you go?
- What are the most important things that you do in your spare time?
- How often, if at all, do you watch TV from the time you get home from school?
- Do any of you use computers? What do you use them for?
- Are you on the Internet just for MSN messenger?
- How much time would you usually spend watching TV or playing on the computer?
- What do you do at the youth club? Who else goes?
- Who are you doing these kinds of things with?
- Do any of you watch sport on TV? Where do you watch sport on TV?
- With whom do you watch sport on TV?
- Do any of you go to watch any sports like football?
- How long have you been going to watch sport?
- Do any of you ever drink alcohol? How long have you been drinking for?
- Where do you drink if you do? Where do you tend to drink at the weekends?
- Do any of your friends drink?
- How much would you say you normally drink when you do?
- What kinds of things do you drink?
- Why do you drink? How would you explain your reasons for drinking?

- What's the appeal of drinking and using drugs?
- How about smoking? Have any of you ever smoked? Do any of currently smoke?
- What's the appeal of smoking for you? How long have you smoked? Do any of your friends smoke?
- What proportion of people in your year smoke cigarettes?
- Where does drinking and smoking fit into your lives, if at all?
- How about drugs? Do any of the lads/girls in your year use them?
- Are these the same people who do sport and physical activity?
- You have said that some of the lads/girls in your year are regular users of drugs. Do they play sport as well?

Perceptions of changing lifestyles

- How do you think your lives have changed, if at all, since you have been at this school?
- How, if at all, have our lives changed since Year 7?
- What do you do now that you didn't do before?
- Why do friends become more important as you grow up?
- Why do boy/girlfriends become more important as you grow up?
- Where does sport fit into your lives? Has this changed as you have got older?
- Given what you have said you do in your spare time, how would you compare your lives to other boys/girls in your year as you see them?
- Do you think that you will be doing any sport when you get older?
- How do you see your lives changing as you get older?
- What do you expect to be doing when you get older?

Physical education and extra-curricular physical education

- What are your impressions of PE at this school? What do you think about PE at this school? How would you describe your with relationship you're your teachers? Why do your teachers treat you differently as you get older?
- What kinds of sports and physical activities, if any, do you do in PE/extra-curricular PE? Have you always done those sports and activities?
- What do you think about the kinds of activities that you do in PE?
- When you do get a choice of activities you can do in PE in Year 11, how much choice do you get? What do you get to choose from?
- Have you always been able to choose what you do in PE? How does this compare to what you did in Years 7 to 9?
- If you had the opportunity to change anything about the PE curriculum, what would you change if anything?
- What activities would you add to the PE curriculum then if you had the choice? What other kinds of things would you like to do more of?
- There seems to be a difference in the kinds of activities that you do in PE and what you do in your spare time. Why do you think that is?

Appendix C

Young People's Participation in National Curriculum Physical Education

Survey Data Tabulations

Table C1 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by males and females in National Curriculum Physical Education by School

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
1	14	0	5	1	6	0	0	2
	(1.4)	(0.0)	(3.0)	(0.6)	(6.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.0)
2	16	2	9	0	4	1	0	0
	(1.6)	(2.2)	(5.4)	(0.0)	(4.2)	(0.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)
3	56	0	22	2	13	6	7	6
	(5.5)	(0.0)	(13.2)	(1.2)	(13.7)	(3.5)	(5.3)	(3.2)
4	69	3	20	5	11	16	8	6
	(6.8)	(3.4)	(12.0)	(3.0)	(11.6)	(9.2)	(6.1)	(3.2)
5	98	5	26	15	14	8	19	11
	(9.7)	(5.6)	(15.6)	(8.9)	(14.7)	(4.6)	(14.5)	(5.9)
6	72	7	10	8	4	16	15	12
	(7.1)	(7.9)	(6.0)	(4.8)	(4.2)	(9.2)	(11.5)	(6.4)
7	96	5	11	11	10	23	21	15
	(9.5)	(5.6)	(6.6)	(6.5)	(10.5)	(13.3)	(16.0)	(8.0)
8	89	6	11	14	11	22	13	12
	(8.8)	(6.7)	(6.6)	(8.3)	(11.6)	(12.7)	(9.9)	(6.4)
9	77	5	7	21	5	10	9	20
	(7.6)	(5.6)	(4.2)	(12.5)	(5.3)	(5.8)	(6.9)	(10.7)
10	80	9	7	10	3	11	18	22
	(7.9)	(10.1)	(4.2)	(6.0)	(3.2)	(6.4)	(13.7)	(11.8)
11	83	6	15	9	5	18	4	26
	(8.2)	(6.7)	(9.0)	(5.4)	(5.3)	(10.4)	(3.1)	(13.9)
12	50	5	8	15	2	9	5	6
	(5.0)	(5.6)	(4.8)	(8.9)	(2.1)	(5.2)	(3.8)	(3.2)
13	55	9	4	7	3	9	2	21
	(5.4)	(10.1)	(2.4)	(4.2)	(3.2)	(5.2)	(1.5)	(11.2)
14	35	6	0	9	1	7	2	10
	(3.5)	(6.7)	(0.0)	(5.4)	(1.1)	(4.0)	(1.5)	(5.3)
15 or more	120	21	10	41	3	17	8	18
	(11.9)	(23.6)	(6.0)	(24.4)	(3.2)	(9.8)	(6.1)	(9.6)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table C2 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by males in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
1	6	0	1	1	4	0	0	0
	(1.2)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(6.8)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
2	5	0	2	0	3	0	0	0
	(1.0)	(0.0)	(2.8)	(0.0)	(5.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
3	38	0	13	1	12	3	4	5
	(7.6)	(0.0)	(18.3)	(1.3)	(20.3)	(3.7)	(5.2)	(5.6)
4	43	1	10	4	7	12	4	5
	(8.7)	(2.4)	(14.1)	(5.2)	(11.9)	(14.6)	(5.2)	(5.6)
5	52	2	4	13	9	5	12	7
	(10.5)	(4.9)	(5.6)	(16.9)	(15.3)	(6.1)	(15.6)	(7.8)
6	31	2	2	6	1	5	12	3
	(6.2)	(4.9)	(2.8)	(7.8)	(1.7)	(6.1)	(15.6)	(3.3)
7	47	2	3	7	4	4	13	11
	(8.9)	(4.9)	(4.2)	(9.1)	(6.8)	(4.9)	(16.9)	(12.2)
8	44	3	5	7	8	8	9	4
	(8.9)	(7.3)	(7.0)	(9.1)	(13.6)	(9.8)	(11.7)	(4.4)
9	32	4	4	5	3	3	4	9
	(6.2)	(9.8)	(5.6)	(6.5)	(5.1)	(3.7)	(5.2)	(10.0)
10	43	5	5	4	1	6	8	14
	(8.7)	(12.2)	(7.0)	(5.2)	(1.7)	(7.3)	(10.4)	(15.6)
11	38	4	9	2	1	10	2	10
	(7.6)	(9.8)	(12.7)	(2.6)	(1.7)	(12.2)	(2.6)	(11.1)
12	29	3	4	8	2	6	4	2
	(5.8)	(7.3)	(5.6)	(10.4)	(3.4)	(7.3)	(5.2)	(2.2)
13	27	3	2	3	2	5	1	10
	(5.4)	(7.3)	(2.8)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(6.1)	(1.3)	(11.1)
14	12	2	0	2	1	5	0	2
	(2.4)	(4.9)	(0.0)	(2.6)	(1.7)	(6.1)	(0.0)	(2.2)
15 or more	53	10	7	14	1	9	4	8
	(10.7)	(24.4)	(9.9)	(18.1)	(1.7)	(11.0)	(5.2)	(8.9)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table C3 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by females in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
1	8	0	4	0	2	0	0	2
	(1.6)	(0.0)	(4.2)	(0.0)	(5.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.0)
2	11	2	7	0	1	1	0	0
	(2.1)	(4.2)	(7.3)	(0.0)	(2.8)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)
3	18	0	9	1	1	3	3	1
	(3.5)	(0.0)	(9.4)	(1.1)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(5.6)	(1.0)
4	26	2	10	1	4	4	4	1
	(5.1)	(4.2)	(10.4)	(1.1)	(11.1)	(4.4)	(7.4)	(1.0)
5	46	3	22	2	5	3	7	4
	(9.0)	(6.3)	(22.9)	(2.2)	(13.9)	(3.3)	(13.0)	(4.1)
6	41	5	8	2	3	11	3	9
	(8.0)	(10.4)	(8.3)	(2.2)	(8.3)	(2.1)	(5.6)	(9.3)
7	52	3	8	4	6	19	8	4
	(10.1)	(6.3)	(8.3)	(4.4)	(16.7)	(20.9)	(14.8)	(4.1)
8	45	3	6	7	3	14	4	8
	(8.8)	(6.3)	(6.3)	(7.7)	(8.3)	(15.4)	(7.4)	(8.2)
9	45	1	3	16	2	7	5	11
	(8.8)	(2.1)	(3.1)	(17.6)	(5.6)	(7.7)	(9.3)	(11.3)
10	37	4	2	6	2	5	10	8
	(7.1)	(8.3)	(2.1)	(6.6)	(5.6)	(5.5)	(18.5)	(8.2)
11	45	2	6	7	4	8	2	16
	(8.8)	(4.2)	(6.3)	(7.7)	(11.1)	(8.8)	(3.7)	(16.5)
12	21	2	4	7	0	3	1	4
	(4.1)	(4.2)	(4.2)	(7.7)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(1.9)	(4.1)
13	28	6	2	4	1	3	1	11
	(5.5)	(12.5)	(2.1)	(4.4)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(1.9)	(11.3)
14	23	4	0	7	0	2	2	8
	(4.5)	(8.3)	(0.0)	(7.7)	(0.0)	(2.2)	(3.7)	(8.2)
15 or more	67	11	5	27	2	8	4	10
	(13.7)	(22.9)	(5.2)	(29.7)	(5.6)	(8.8)	(7.4)	(10.3)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table C4 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally in National Curriculum Physical Education by sex by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	51	0	22	5	6	2	6	10
	(5.1)	(0.0)	(13.2)	(3.0)	(6.3)	(1.2)	(4.6)	(5.3)
1	66	2	27	5	11	5	10	6
	(6.5)	(2.2)	(16.2)	(3.0)	(11.6)	(2.9)	(7.6)	(3.2)
2	93	7	23	9	14	11	13	16
	(9.2)	(7.9)	(13.8)	(5.4)	(14.7)	(6.4)	(9.9)	(8.6)
3	108	2	33	10	12	17	13	21
	(10.7)	(2.2)	(19.8)	(6.0)	(12.6)	(9.8)	(9.9)	(11.2)
4	119	12	16	15	15	17	17	27
	(11.8)	(13.5)	(9.6)	(8.9)	(15.8)	(9.8)	(13.0)	(14.4)
5	104	6	13	20	10	16	18	21
	(10.3)	(6.7)	(7.8)	(11.9)	(10.5)	(9.2)	(13.7)	(11.2)
6	108	4	6	15	11	32	16	22
	(10.8)	(4.5)	(3.6)	(8.9)	(11.6)	(18.5)	(12.2)	(11.8)
7	86	9	8	16	8	15	8	22
	(8.5)	(10.1)	(4.8)	(9.5)	(8.4)	(8.7)	(6.1)	(11.8)
8	72	11	4	13	2	19	8	15
	(7.1)	(12.4)	(2.4)	(7.7)	(2.1)	(11.0)	(6.1)	(8.0)
9	64	8	3	17	3	15	9	9
	(6.3)	(9.0)	(1.8)	(10.1)	(3.2)	(8.7)	(6.9)	(4.8)
10 or more	141	56	12	43	3	24	13	18
	(14.0)	(62.9)	(7.2)	(25.6)	(3.2)	(13.9)	(9.9)	(9.6)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table C5 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally by males in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	35	0	14	3	5	2	5	6
	(7.0)	(0.0)	(19.7)	(3.9)	(8.5)	(2.4)	(6.5)	(6.7)
1	36	1	11	4	8	3	7	2
	(7.2)	(2.4)	(15.5)	(5.2)	(13.6)	(3.7)	(9.1)	(2.2)
2	53	3	9	7	11	4	9	10
	(10.7)	(7.3)	(12.7)	(9.1)	(18.6)	(4.9)	(11.7)	(11.1)
3	62	2	13	8	10	9	6	14
	(12.5)	(4.9)	(18.3)	(10.4)	(16.9)	(11.0)	(7.8)	(15.6)
4	67	6	7	9	9	10	11	15
	(13.5)	(14.6)	(9.9)	(11.7)	(15.3)	(12.2)	(14.3)	(16.7)
5	51	3	5	10	5	9	11	8
	(10.3)	(7.3)	(7.0)	(13.0)	(8.5)	(11.0)	(14.3)	(8.9)
6	44	2	1	8	5	9	12	7
	(8.9)	(4.9)	(1.4)	(10.4)	(8.5)	(11.0)	(15.6)	(7.8)
7	36	3	3	6	3	6	3	12
	(7.2)	(7.3)	(4.2)	(7.8)	(5.1)	(7.3)	(3.9)	(13.3)
8	30	4	1	6	1	10	3	5
	(6.0)	(9.8)	(1.4)	(7.8)	(1.7)	(12.2)	(3.9)	(5.6)
9	30	5	1	5	1	7	4	7
	(6.0)	(12.2)	(1.4)	(6.5)	(1.7)	(8.5)	(5.2)	(7.8)
10	53	12	6	11	1	13	2	4
	(10.7)	(29.3)	(8.6)	(14.3)	(1.7)	(15.9)	(2.6)	(4.4)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table C6 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally by females in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	16	0	8	2	1	0	1	4
	(3.1)	(0.0)	(8.3)	(2.2)	(2.8)	(0.0)	(1.9)	(4.1)
1	30	1	16	1	3	2	3	4
	(5.8)	(2.1)	(16.7)	(1.1)	(8.3)	(2.2)	(5.6)	(4.1)
2	40	4	14	2	3	7	4	6
	(7.8)	(8.3)	(14.6)	(2.2)	(8.3)	(7.7)	(7.4)	(6.2)
3	46	0	20	2	2	8	7	7
	(9.0)	(0.0)	(20.8)	(2.2)	(5.6)	(8.8)	(13.0)	(7.2)
4	52	6	9	6	6	7	6	12
	(10.1)	(12.5)	(9.4)	(6.6)	(16.7)	(7.7)	(11.1)	(12.4)
5	53	3	8	10	5	7	7	13
	(10.3)	(6.3)	(8.3)	(11.0)	(13.9)	(7.7)	(13.0)	(13.4)
6	62	2	5	7	6	23	4	15
	(12.1)	(4.2)	(5.2)	(7.7)	(16.7)	(25.3)	(7.4)	(15.5)
7	50	6	5	10	5	9	5	10
	(9.7)	(12.5)	(5.2)	(11.0)	(13.9)	(9.9)	(9.3)	(10.3)
8	42	7	3	7	1	9	5	10
	(8.2)	(14.6)	(3.1)	(7.7)	(2.8)	(9.9)	(9.3)	(10.3)
9	34	3	2	12	2	8	5	2
	(6.6)	(6.3)	(2.1)	(13.2)	(5.6)	(8.8)	(9.3)	(2.1)
10	88	16	6	32	2	11	7	14
	(17.2)	(33.3)	(6.3)	(35.2)	(5.6)	(12.1)	(13.0)	(14.4)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table C7 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	181	16	30	21	23	41	35	15
	(17.9)	(18.0)	(18.0)	(12.5)	(24.2)	(23.7)	(26.7)	(8.0)
1	166	10	32	30	24	34	15	21
	(16.4)	(11.2)	(19.2)	(17.9)	(25.3)	(19.7)	(11.5)	(11.2)
2	138	8	28	21	12	26	21	22
	(13.7)	(9.0)	(16.8)	(12.5)	(12.6)	(15.0)	(16.0)	(11.8)
3	120	10	19	21	13	23	13	21
	(11.9)	(11.2)	(11.4)	(12.5)	(13.7)	(13.3)	(9.9)	(11.2)
4	81	13	11	14	6	14	8	15
	(8.0)	(14.6)	(6.6)	(8.3)	(6.3)	(8.1)	(6.1)	(8.0)
5	96	12	9	15	6	10	15	29
	(9.5)	(13.5)	(5.4)	(8.9)	(6.3)	(5.8)	(11.5)	(15.5)
6	62	7	7	13	4	6	10	15
	(6.1)	(7.9)	(4.2)	(7.7)	(4.2)	(3.5)	(7.6)	(8.0)
7	46	4	7	7	4	4	6	14
	(4.6)	(4.5)	(4.2)	(4.2)	(4.2)	(2.3)	(4.6)	(7.5)
8	38	3	7	8	2	1	5	12
	(3.8)	(3.4)	4.2)	(4.8)	(2.1)	(0.6)	(3.8)	(6.4)
9	25	4	2	4	0	3	1	11
	(2.5)	(4.5)	(1.2)	(2.4)	(0.0)	(1.7)	(0.8)	(5.9)
10	57	2	15	14	1	11	2	12
	(5.7)	(2.2)	(9.0)	(8.3)	(1.1)	(6.4)	(1.6)	(6.4)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table C8 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently by males in National Curriculum Physical Education by s

c h o o l Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	66	5	10	8	10	12	18	3
	(13.3)	(12.2)	(14.1)	(10.4)	(16.9)	(14.6)	(23.4)	(3.3)
1	81	4	8	17	18	15	9	10
	(16.3)	(9.8)	(11.3)	(22.1)	(30.5)	(18.3)	(11.7)	(11.1)
2	74	3	10	13	8	15	11	14
	(14.9)	(7.3)	(14.1)	(16.9)	(13.6)	(18.3)	(14.3)	(15.6)
3	65	3	11	7	8	14	10	12
	(13.1)	(7.3)	(15.5)	(9.1)	(13.6)	(17.1)	(13.0)	(13.3)
4	38	9	5	7	2	5	3	7
	(7.6)	(22.0)	(7.0)	(9.1)	(3.4)	(6.1)	(3.9)	(7.8)
5	52	7	3	7	5	6	10	14
	(10.5)	(17.1)	(4.2)	(9.1)	(8.5)	(7.3)	(13.0)	(15.6)
6	32	3	4	3	4	4	6	8
	(6.4)	(7.3)	(5.6)	(3.9)	(6.8)	(4.9)	(7.8)	(8.9)
7	24	3	4	2	3	2	4	6
	(4.8)	(7.3)	(5.6)	(2.6)	(5.1)	(2.4)	(5.2)	(6.7)
8	21	1	6	2	1	1	4	6
	(4.2)	(2.4)	(8.5)	(2.6)	(1.7)	(1.2)	(5.2)	(6.7)
9	12	1	1	3	0	2	1	4
	(2.4)	(2.4)	(1.4)	(3.9)	(0.0)	(2.4)	(1.3)	(4.4)
10	32	2	9	8	0	6	1	6
	(6.4)	(4.9)	(12.7)	(10.4)	(0.0)	(7.3)	(1.3)	(6.7)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table C9 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by females frequently in National Curriculum Physical Education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	115	11	20	13	13	29	17	12
	(22.4)	(22.9)	(20.8)	(14.3)	(36.1)	(31.9)	(31.5)	(12.4)
1	85	6	24	13	6	19	6	11
	(16.6)	(12.5)	(25.0)	(14.3)	(16.7)	(20.9)	(11.1)	(11.3)
2	64	5	18	8	4	11	10	8
	(12.5)	(10.4)	(18.8)	(8.8)	(11.1)	(12.1)	(18.5)	(8.2)
3	55	7	8	14	5	9	3	9
	(10.7)	(14.6)	(8.3)	(15.4)	(13.9)	(9.9)	(5.6)	(9.3)
4	43	4	6	7	4	9	5	8
	(8.4)	(8.3)	(6.3)	(7.7)	(11.1)	(9.9)	(9.3)	(8.2)
5	44	5	6	8	1	4	5	15
	(8.6)	(10.4)	(6.3)	(8.8)	(2.8)	(4.4)	(9.3)	(15.5)
6	30	4	3	10	0	2	4	7
	(5.8)	(8.3)	(3.1)	(11.0)	(0.0)	(2.2)	(7.4)	(7.2)
7	22	1	3	5	1	2	2	8
	(4.3)	(2.1)	(3.1)	(5.5)	(2.8)	(2.2)	(3.7)	(8.2)
8	17	2	1	6	1	0	1	6
	(3.3)	(4.2)	(1.0)	(6.6)	(2.8)	(0.0)	(1.9)	(6.2)
9	13	3	1	1	0	1	0	7
	(2.5)	(6.3)	(1.0)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(7.2)
10	25	0	6	13	1	5	1	6
	(4.9)	(0.0)	(6.3)	(14.3)	(2.8)	(5.5)	(1.9)	(6.2)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table C10 Participation (n and %) in six physical education activity groups for total sample (n=1010) by sex

Activity Group / No. of Activities	Males	Females	Total
Invasion Games			
0	15	65	80
	(3.0)	(12.7)	(7.9)
1-2	268	233	501
	(53.9)	(45.4)	(49.6)
3 or more	214	215	429
	(43.1)	(41.9)	(42.5)
Striking Games			
0	145	152	297
	(29.2)	(29.6)	(29.4)
1-2	268	329	597
	(53.9)	(64.1)	(59.1)
3 or more	84	32	116
	(16.9)	(6.2)	(11.5)
Racket Games			
0	62	46	108
	(12.5)	(9.0)	(10.7)
1-2	321	359	680
	(64.6)	(70.0)	(67.3)
3-4	114	108	222
	(22.9)	(21.1)	(22.0)
Athletics and Gymnastics			
0	115	43	158
	(23.1)	(8.4)	(15.6)
1-3	217	261	478
	(43.7)	(50.9)	(47.3)
4-6	137	153	290
	(27.6)	(29.8)	(28.7)
7-10	28	56	84
	(5.6)	(10.9)	(8.3)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities			
0	400	422	822
	(80.5)	(82.3)	(81.4)
1 or more	97	91	188
	(19.5)	(17.7)	(18.6)
Swimming and Diving			
0	353	356	709
	(71.0)	(69.4)	(70.2)
1-2	144	157	301
	(29.0)	(30.6)	(29.8)
Dance			
No	487	309	796
	(98.0)	(60.2)	(78.8)
Yes	10	204	214
	(2.0)	(39.8)	(21.2)
Total	497	513	1010

Table C11 Participation (n and %) in six physical education activity groups for total sample (n=1010) by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	6	55	8	5	3	0	3	80
	(6.7)	(32.9)	(4.8)	(5.3)	(1.7)	(0.0)	(1.6)	(7.9)
1-2	21	65	86	64	84	123	58	501
	(23.6)	(38.9)	(51.2)	(67.4)	(48.6)	(93.9)	(31.0)	(49.6)
3 or more	62	47	74	26	86	8	126	429
	(69.7)	(28.1)	(44.0)	(27.4)	(49.7)	(6.1)	(67.4)	(42.5)
Striking Games								
0	12	74	19	55	18	75	44	297
	(13.5)	(44.3)	(11.3)	(57.9)	(10.4)	(57.3)	(23.5)	(29.4)
1-2	44	89	123	32	131	55	123	597
	(49.4)	(53.3)	(73.2)	(33.7)	(75.7)	(42.0)	(65.8)	(59.1)
3 or more	33	4	26	8	24	1	20	116
	(37.1)	(2.4)	(15.5)	(8.4)	(13.9)	(0.8)	(10.7)	(11.5)
Racket Games								
0	7	17	3	17	28	22	14	108
	(7.9)	(10.2)	(1.8)	(17.9)	(16.2)	(16.8)	(7.5)	(10.7)
1-2	51	91	72	74	130	99	163	680
	(57.3)	(54.5)	(42.9)	(77.9)	(75.1)	(75.6)	(87.2)	(67.3)
3-4	31	59	93	4	15	10	10	222
	(34.8)	(35.3)	(55.4)	(4.2)	(8.7)	(7.6)	(5.3)	(22.0)

Table C11 (cont.)

Athletics and Gymnastics	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	8	54	16	31	19	8	22	158
	(9.0)	(32.3)	(9.5)	(32.6)	(11.0)	(6.1)	(11.8)	(15.6)
1-3	42	78	78	41	88	81	70	478
	(47.2)	(46.7)	(46.4)	(43.2)	(50.9)	(61.8)	(37.4)	(47.3)
4-6	26	30	52	21	50	34	77	290
	(29.2)	(18.0)	(31.0)	(22.1)	(28.9)	(26.0)	(41.2)	(28.7)
7-10	13	5	22	2	16	8	18	84
	(14.6)	(3.0)	(13.1)	(2.1)	(9.2)	(6.1)	(9.6)	(8.3)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	72	136	133	94	158	65	164	822
	(80.9)	(81.4)	(79.2)	(98.9)	(91.3)	(49.6)	(87.7)	(81.4)
1 or more	17	31	35	1	15	66	23	188
	(19.1)	(18.6)	(20.8)	(1.1)	(8.7)	(50.4)	(12.3)	(18.6)
Swimming and Diving								
0	85	151	56	70	121	55	171	709
	(95.5)	(90.4)	(33.3)	(73.7)	(69.9)	(42.0)	(91.4)	(70.2)
1-2	4	16	112	25	52	76	16	301
	(4.5)	(9.6)	(66.7)	(26.3)	(30.1)	(58.0)	(8.6)	(29.8)
Dance								
No	50	106	157	89	170	108	116	796
	(56.2)	(63.5)	(93.5)	(93.7)	(98.3)	(82.4)	(62.0)	(78.8)
Yes	39	61	11	6	3	23	71	214
	(43.8)	(36.5)	(6.5)	(6.3)	(1.7)	(17.6)	(38.0)	(21.2)
Total	89	167	168	95	173	131	187	1,010

Table C12 Participation by males (n and %) in six physical education activity groups (n=497) by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	1	10	3	1	0	0	0	15
	(2.4)	(14.1)	(3.9)	(1.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(3.0)
1-2	6	27	48	47	45	72	23	268
	(14.6)	(38.0)	(62.3)	(79.7)	(54.9)	(93.5)	(25.6)	(53.9)
3 or more	34	34	26	11	37	5	67	214
	(82.9)	(47.9)	(33.8)	(18.6)	(45.1)	(6.5)	(74.4)	(43.1)
Striking Games								
0	6	23	12	30	3	49	22	145
	(14.6)	(32.4)	(15.6)	(50.8)	(3.7)	(63.6)	(24.4)	(29.2)
1-2	17	45	49	23	56	27	51	268
	(41.5)	(63.4)	(63.6)	(39.0)	(68.3)	(35.1)	(56.7)	(53.9)
3 or more	18	3	16	6	23	1	17	84
	(43.9)	(4.2)	(20.8)	(10.2)	(28.0)	(1.3)	(18.9)	(16.9)
Racket Games								
0	4	7	2	11	25	5	8	62
	(9.8)	(9.9)	(2.6)	(18.6)	(30.5)	(6.5)	(8.9)	(12.5)
1-2	15	29	46	46	44	64	77	321
	(36.6)	(40.8)	(59.7)	(78.0)	(53.7)	(83.1)	(85.6)	(64.6)
3-4	22	35	29	2	13	8	5	114
	(53.7)	(49.3)	(37.7)	(3.4)	(15.9)	(10.4)	(5.6)	(22.9)

Table C12 (cont.)

Athletics and Gymnastics	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	6 (14.6)	33 (46.5)	14 (18.2)	29 (49.2)	10 (12.2)	8 (10.4)	15 (16.7)	115 (23.1)
1-3	17 (41.5)	22 (31.0)	38 (49.4)	19 (32.2)	36 (43.9)	48 (62.3)	37 (41.1)	217 (43.7)
4-6	12 (29.3)	14 (19.7)	18 (23.4)	11 (18.6)	30 (36.6)	17 (22.1)	35 (38.9)	137 (27.6)
7-10	6 (14.6)	2 (2.8)	7 (9.1)	0 (0.0)	6 (7.3)	4 (5.2)	3 (3.3)	28 (5.6)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	33 (80.5)	59 (83.1)	60 (77.9)	58 (98.3)	75 (91.5)	41 (53.2)	74 (82.2)	400 (80.5)
1 or more	8 (19.5)	12 (16.9)	17 (22.1)	1 (1.7)	7 (8.5)	36 (46.8)	16 (17.8)	97 (19.5)
Swimming and Diving								
0	40 (97.6)	63 (88.7)	33 (42.9)	41 (69.5)	54 (65.9)	39 (50.6)	83 (92.2)	353 (71.0)
1-2	1 (2.4)	8 (11.3)	44 (57.1)	18 (30.5)	28 (34.1)	38 (49.4)	7 (7.8)	144 (29.0)
Dance								
No	39 (95.1)	70 (98.6)	76 (98.7)	59 (100.0)	81 (98.8)	75 (97.4)	87 (96.7)	487 (98.0)
Yes	2 (4.9)	1 (1.4)	1 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.2)	2 (2.6)	3 (3.3)	10 (2.0)
Total	41	71	77	59	82	77	90	497

Table C13 Participation by females (n and %) in six physical education activity groups (n=513) by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	5 (10.4)	45 (46.9)	5 (5.5)	4 (11.1)	3 (3.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (3.1)	65 (12.7)
1-2	15 (31.3)	38 (39.6)	38 (41.8)	17 (47.2)	39 (42.9)	51 (94.4)	35 (36.1)	233 (45.4)
3 or more	28 (58.3)	13 (13.5)	48 (52.7)	15 (41.7)	49 (53.8)	3 (5.6)	59 (60.8)	215 (41.9)
Striking Games								
0	6 (12.5)	51 (53.1)	7 (7.7)	25 (69.4)	15 (16.5)	26 (48.1)	22 (22.7)	152 (29.6)
1-2	27 (56.3)	44 (45.8)	74 (81.3)	9 (25.0)	75 (82.4)	28 (51.9)	72 (74.2)	329 (64.1)
3 or more	15 (31.3)	1 (1.0)	10 (11.0)	2 (5.6)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (3.1)	32 (6.2)
Racket Games								
0	3 (6.3)	10 (10.4)	1 (1.1)	6 (16.7)	3 (3.3)	17 (31.5)	6 (6.2)	46 (9.0)
1-2	36 (75.0)	62 (64.6)	26 (28.6)	28 (77.8)	86 (94.5)	35 (64.8)	86 (88.7)	359 (70.0)
3-4	9 (18.8)	24 (25.0)	64 (70.3)	2 (5.6)	2 (2.2)	2 (3.7)	5 (5.2)	108 (21.1)

Table C13 (cont.)

Athletics and Gymnastics	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	2	21	2	2	9	0	7	43
	(4.2)	(21.9)	(2.2)	(5.6)	(9.9)	(0.0)	(7.2)	(8.4)
1-3	25	56	40	22	52	33	33	261
	(52.1)	(58.3)	(44.0)	(61.1)	(57.1)	(61.1)	(34.0)	(50.9)
4-6	14	16	34	10	20	17	42	153
	(29.2)	(16.7)	(37.4)	(27.8)	(22.0)	(31.5)	(43.3)	(29.8)
7-10	7	3	15	2	10	4	15	56
	(14.6)	(3.1)	(16.5)	(5.6)	(11.0)	(7.4)	(15.5)	(10.9)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	39	77	73	36	83	24	90	422
	(81.3)	(80.2)	(80.2)	(100.0)	(81.2)	(44.4)	(92.8)	(82.3)
1 or more	9	19	18	0	8	30	7	91
	(18.8)	(19.8)	(19.8)	(0.0)	(8.8)	(55.6)	(7.2)	(17.7)
Swimming and Diving								
0	45	88	23	29	67	16	88	356
	(93.8)	(91.7)	(25.3)	(80.6)	(73.6)	(29.6)	(90.7)	(69.4)
1-2	3	8	68	7	24	38	9	157
	(6.3)	(8.3)	(74.7)	(19.4)	(26.4)	(70.4)	(9.3)	(30.6)
Dance								
No	11	36	81	30	89	33	29	309
	(22.9)	(37.5)	(89.0)	(83.3)	(97.8)	(61.1)	(29.9)	(60.2)
Yes	37	60	10	6	2	21	68	204
	(77.1)	(62.5)	(11.0)	(16.7)	(2.2)	(38.9)	(70.1)	(39.8)
Total	48	96	91	36	91	54	97	513

Appendix D

Young People's Participation in Extra-Curricular Physical Education

Survey Data Tabulations

Table D1 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	549	53	103	92	58	91	57	95
	(54.4)	(59.6)	(61.7)	(54.8)	(61.1)	(52.6)	(43.5)	(50.8)
1	140	8	26	23	15	26	15	27
	(13.9)	(9.0)	(15.6)	(13.7)	(15.8)	(15.0)	(11.58)	(14.4)
2	95	8	15	9	6	12	18	27
	(9.4)	(9.0)	(9.0)	(5.4)	(6.3)	(6.9)	(13.7)	(14.4)
3	68	7	5	11	6	11	13	15
	(6.7)	(7.9)	(3.0)	(6.5)	(6.3)	(6.4)	(9.9)	(8.0)
4	66	5	8	13	4	16	12	8
	(6.5)	(5.6)	(4.8)	(7.7)	(4.2)	(9.2)	(9.2)	(4.3)
5	30	5	3	2	2	9	4	7
	(3.0)	(5.6)	(1.8)	(1.2)	(2.1)	(5.2)	(3.1)	(3.7)
6	15	0	2	5	0	3	4	1
	(1.5)	(0.0)	(1.2)	(3.0)	(0.0)	(1.7)	(3.1)	(0.5)
7	13	1	2	3	1	0	3	3
	(1.3)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(1.8)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(2.3)	(1.6)
8	12	1	1	5	1	4	0	0
	(1.28)	(1.1)	(0.6)	(3.0)	(1.1)	(2.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)
9	8	0	1	3	0	0	3	1
	(0.8)	(0.0)	(0.6)	(1.8)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(2.3)	(0.5)
10	6	1	1	1	2	0	1	0
	(0.6)	(1.1)	(0.6)	(0.6)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(0.8)	(0.0)
11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.1)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
12	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
	(0.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.6)	(0.0)	(0.6)	(0.0)	(0.5)
13	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	(0.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.8)	(1.1)
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
15 or more	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table D2 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by males in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	227	19	31	44	31	34	29	39
	(45.7)	(46.3)	(43.7)	(57.1)	(52.5)	(41.5)	(37.7)	(43.3)
1	81	8	17	10	10	12	10	14
	(16.3)	(19.5)	(23.9)	(13.0)	(16.9)	(14.6)	(130)	(15.6)
2	52	3	7	3	6	9	12	12
	(10.5)	(7.3)	(9.9)	(3.9)	(10.2)	(11.0)	(15.6)	(13.3)
3	34	2	3	5	3	6	5	10
	(6.8)	(4.9)	(4.2)	(6.5)	(5.1)	(7.3)	(6.5)	(11.1)
4	45	4	4	5	4	13	9	6
	(9.1)	(9.8)	(5.6)	(6.5)	(6.8)	(15.9)	(11.7)	(6.7)
5	18	1	3	1	1	5	3	4
	(3.6)	(2.4)	(4.2)	(1.3)	(1.7)	(6.1)	(3.9)	(4.4)
6	10	0	2	1	0	3	4	0
	(2.0)	(0.0)	(2.8)	(1.3)	(0.0)	(3.7)	(5.2)	(0.0)
7	8	1	12	1	1	00	1	2
	(1.6)	(2.4)	(2.8)	(1.3)	(1.7)	(0.0)	(1.3)	(2.2)
8	5	0	1	3	1	0	0	0
	(1.0)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(3.9)	(1.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
9	7	0	1	3	0	0	2	1
	(1.4)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(3.9)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(2.6)	(1.1)
10	5	1	0	1	2	0	1	0
	(1.0)	(2.4)	(0.0)	(1.3)	(3.4)	(0.0)	(1.3)	(0.0)
11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.1)
13	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	(0.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.3)	(1.1)
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
15 or more	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table D3 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done by females in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	322	34	72	48	27	57	28	56
	(62.8)	(70.8)	(75.0)	(52.7)	(75.0)	(62.6)	(51.9)	(57.7)
1	59	0	9	13	5	14	5	13
	(11.5)	(0.0)	(9.4)	(14.3)	(13.9)	(15.4)	(9.3)	(13.4)
2	43	58	8	6	0	3	6	15
	(8.4)	(10.4)	(8.3)	(6.6)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(11.1)	(15.5)
3	34	5	2	6	3	5	8	5
	(6.6)	(10.4)	(2.1)	(6.6)	(8.3)	(5.5)	(14.8)	(5.2)
4	21	1	4	8	0	3	3	2
	(4.1)	(2.1)	(4.2)	(8.8)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(5.6)	(2.1)
5	12	2	0	1	1	4	1	3
	(2.3)	(4.2)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(2.8)	(4.4)	(1.9)	(3.1)
6	5	0	0	4	0	0	0	1
	(1.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(4.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.0)
7	5	0	0	2	0	0	2	1
	(1.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(2.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(3.7)	(1.0)
8	7	1	0	2	0	4	0	0
	(1.4)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(2.2)	(0.0)	(4.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.9)	(0.0)
10	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.2)	(0.0)	(1.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
12	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	(0.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)
13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.0)
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
15 or more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table D4 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	746	61	135	115	79	130	87	139
	(73.9)	(68.5)	(80.8)	(68.5)	(83.2)	(75.1)	(66.4)	(74.3)
1	115	14	13	19	8	22	18	21
	(11.4)	(15.7)	(7.8)	(11.3)	(8.4)	(12.1)	(13.7)	(11.2)
2	54	5	8	8	0	6	11	16
	(5.3)	(5.6)	(4.8)	(4.8)	(0.0)	(3.5)	(8.4)	(8.6)
3	38	4	3	13	5	6	4	3
	(3.8)	(4.5)	(1.8)	(7.7)	(5.3)	(3.5)	(3.1)	(1.6)
4	22	1	5	5	1	3	6	1
	(2.2)	(1.1)	(3.0)	(3.0)	(1.1)	(1.7)	(4.6)	(0.5)
5 or more	35	4	3	8	2	6	5	7
	(3.5)	(4.5)	(1.8)	(4.8)	(2.1)	(3.5)	(3.8)	(3.7)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table D5 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	628	60	115	112	63	96	73	109
	(62.2)	(67.4)	(68.9)	(66.7)	(66.3)	(55.5)	(55.7)	(58.3)
1	174	12	29	24	17	38	21	33
	(17.2)	(13.5)	(17.4)	(14.3)	(17.9)	(22.0)	(16.0)	(17.6)
2	99	6	13	14	7	18	13	28
	(9.8)	(6.7)	(7.8)	(8.3)	(7.4)	(10.4)	(9.9)	(15.0)
3	58	9	7	5	3	11	14	9
	(5.7)	(10.1)	(4.2)	(3.0)	(3.2)	(6.4)	(10.7)	(4.8)
4	24	2	1	6	2	5	4	4
	(2.4)	(2.2)	(0.6)	(3.6)	(2.1)	(2.9)	(3.1)	(2.1)
5 or more	27	0	2	7	3	5	6	4
	(2.7)	(0.0)	(1.2)	(4.2)	(3.2)	(2.9)	(4.6)	(2.1)
Total	1,010	89	167	168	95	173	131	187

Table D6 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally by males in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	348	24	52	57	47	55	48	65
	(70.0)	(58.5)	(73.2)	(74.0)	(79.7)	(67.1)	(62.3)	(72.2)
1	61	9	6	8	4	15	12	7
	(12.3)	(22.0)	(8.5)	(10.4)	(6.8)	(18.3)	(15.6)	(7.8)
2	29	1	3	3	0	3	8	11
	(5.8)	(2.4)	(4.2)	(3.9)	(0.0)	(3.7)	(10.4)	(12.2)
3	22	3	2	5	5	3	2	2
	(4.4)	(7.3)	(2.8)	(6.5)	(8.5)	(3.7)	(2.6)	(2.2)
4	14	1	5	1	1	3	3	0
	(2.8)	(2.4)	(7.0)	(1.3)	(1.7)	(3.7)	(3.9)	(0.0)
5 or more	23	3	3	3	2	3	4	5
	(4.6)	(7.3)	(4.2)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(3.7)	(5.2)	(5.6)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table D7 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done occasionally by females in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	398	37	83	58	32	75	39	74
	(77.6)	(77.1)	(86.5)	(63.7)	(88.9)	(82.4)	(72.2)	(76.3)
1	54	5	7	11	4	7	6	14
	(10.5)	(10.4)	(7.3)	(12.1)	(11.1)	(7.7)	(11.1)	(14.4)
2	25	4	5	5	0	3	3	5
	(4.9)	(8.3)	(5.2)	(5.5)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(5.6)	(5.2)
3	16	1	1	8	0	3	2	1
	(3.1)	(2.1)	(1.0)	(8.8)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(3.7)	(1.0)
4	8	0	0	4	0	0	3	1
	(1.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(4.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(5.6)	(1.0)
5 or more	12	1	0	5	0	3	1	2
	(2.3)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(5.5)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(1.9)	(2.1)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table D8 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently by males in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	264	24	39	48	34	37	38	44
	(53.1)	(58.5)	(54.9)	(62.3)	(57.6)	(45.1)	(49.4)	(48.9)
1	108	8	18	9	14	24	15	20
	(21.7)	(19.5)	(25.4)	(11.7)	(23.7)	(29.3)	(19.5)	(22.2)
2	55	2	7	9	5	8	7	17
	(11.1)	(4.9)	(9.9)	(11.7)	(8.5)	(9.8)	(9.1)	(18.9)
3	36	6	5	1	2	8	10	4
	(7.2)	(14.6)	(7.0)	(1.3)	(3.4)	(9.8)	(13.0)	(4.4)
4	15	1	1	3	2	3	3	2
	(3.0)	(2.4)	(1.4)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(3.7)	(3.9)	(2.2)
5 or more	19	0	1	7	2	2	4	3
	(3.8)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(9.1)	(3.4)	(2.4)	(5.2)	(3.3)
Total	497	41	71	77	59	82	77	90

Table D9 Total number (%) of sports and physical activities done frequently by females in extra-curricular physical education by school

Number of sports	Total	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G
0	364	36	76	64	29	59	35	65
	(71.0)	(75.0)	(79.2)	(70.3)	(80.6)	(64.8)	(64.8)	(67.0)
1	66	4	11	15	3	14	6	13
	(12.9)	(8.3)	(11.5)	(16.5)	(8.3)	(15.4)	(11.1)	(13.4)
2	44	4	6	5	2	10	6	11
	(8.6)	(8.3)	(6.3)	(5.5)	(5.6)	(11.0)	(11.1)	(11.3)
3	22	3	2	4	1	3	4	5
	(4.3)	(6.3)	(2.1)	(4.4)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(7.4)	(5.2)
4	9	1	0	3	0	2	1	2
	(1.8)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(3.3)	(0.0)	(2.2)	(1.9)	(2.1)
5 or more	8	0	1	0	1	3	2	1
	(1.6)	(0.0)	(1.0)	(0.0)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(3.7)	(1.0)
Total	513	48	96	91	36	91	54	97

Table D10 Participation by males and females (n and %) in six extra-curricular physical education activity groups for total sample (n=1010)

Activity Group / No. of Activities	Males	Females	Total
Invasion Games			
0	287	403	690
	(57.7)	(78.6)	(68.3)
1	132	79	211
	(26.6)	(15.4)	(20.9)
2-4	78	31	109
	(15.7)	(6.0)	(10.8)
Striking Games			
0	437	459	896
	(87.9)	(89.5)	(88.7)
1 or more	60	54	114
	(12.1)	(10.5)	(11.3)
Racket Games			
0	405	457	862
	(81.5)	(89.1)	(85.3)
1	57	43	100
	(11.5)	(8.4)	(9.9)
2 or more	35	13	48
	(7.0)	(2.5)	(4.8)
Athletics and Gymnastics			
0	378	424	802
	(76.1)	(82.7)	(79.4)
1	55	52	107
	(11.1)	(10.1)	(10.6)
2 or more	64	37	101
	(12.9)	(7.2)	(10.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities			
0	450	484	934
	(90.5)	(94.3)	(92.5)
1 or more	47	29	76
	(9.5)	(5.7)	(7.5)
Swimming and Diving			
No	442	473	915
	(88.9)	(92.2)	(90.6)
Yes	55	40	95
	(11.1)	(7.8)	(9.4)
Dance			
No	495	486	981
	(99.6)	(94.7)	(97.1)
Yes	2	27	29
	(0.4)	(5.3)	(2.9)
Golf			
No	485	509	994
	(97.6)	(99.2)	(98.4)
Yes	12	4	16
	(2.4)	(0.8)	(1.6)
Total	497	513	1,010

Table D11 Participation by 15- and 16-year-olds (n and %) in six physical education activity groups for total sample (n=1010)

Activity-Group / No. of Activities	15-year-olds	16-year-olds	Total
Invasion Games			
0	429	261	690
	(71.1)	(64.1)	(68.3)
1	112	99	211
	(18.6)	(24.3)	(20.9)
2-4	62	47	109
	(10.3)	(11.5)	(10.8)
Striking Games			
0	544	352	896
	(90.2)	(86.5)	(88.7)
1 or more	59	55	114
	(9.8)	(13.5)	(11.3)
Racket Games			
0	513	349	862
	(85.1)	(85.7)	(85.3)
1	57	43	100
	(9.5)	(10.6)	(9.9)
2 or more	33	15	48
	(5.5)	(3.7)	(4.8)
Athletics and Gymnastics			
0	478	324	802
	(79.3)	(79.6)	(79.4)
1	67	40	107
	(11.1)	(9.8)	(10.6)
2 or more	58	43	101
	(9.6)	(10.6)	(10.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities			
0	564	370	934
	(93.5)	(90.9)	(92.5)
1 or more	39	37	76
	(6.5)	(9.1)	(7.5)
Swimming and Diving			
No	549	366	915
	(91.0)	(89.9)	(90.6)
Yes	54	41	95
	(9.0)	(10.1)	(9.4)
Dance			
No	582	399	981
	(96.5)	(98.0)	(97.1)
Yes	21	8	29
	(3.5)	(2.0)	(2.9)
Golf			
No	596	398	994
	(98.8)	(97.8)	(98.4)
Yes	7	9	16
	(1.2)	(2.2)	(1.6)
Total	603	407	1,010

Table D12 Participation by school (n and %) in six physical education activity groups by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	61 (68.5)	120 (71.9)	122 (72.6)	65 (68.4)	122 (70.5)	86 (65.6)	114 (61.0)	690 (68.3)
1	19 (21.3)	35 (21.0)	29 (17.3)	16 (16.8)	33 (19.1)	34 (26.0)	45 (24.1)	211 (20.9)
2-4	9 (10.1)	12 (7.2)	17 (10.1)	14 (14.7)	18 (10.4)	11 (8.4)	28 (15.0)	109 (10.8)
Striking Games								
0	75 (84.3)	155 (92.8)	142 (84.5)	90 (94.7)	153 (88.4)	117 (89.3)	164 (87.7)	896 (88.7)
1 or more	14 (15.7)	12 (7.2)	26 (15.5)	5 (5.3)	20 (11.6)	14 (10.7)	23 (12.3)	114 (11.3)
Racket Games								
0	77 (86.5)	147 (88.0)	142 (84.5)	86 (90.5)	144 (83.2)	113 (86.3)	153 (81.8)	862 (85.3)
1	10 (11.2)	11 (6.6)	15 (8.9)	8 (8.4)	26 (15.0)	12 (9.2)	18 (9.6)	100 (9.9)
2 or more	2 (2.2)	9 (5.4)	11 (6.5)	1 (1.1)	3 (1.7)	6 (4.6)	16 (8.6)	48 (4.8)

Table D12 (cont.)

Athletics and Gymnastics	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	68	142	134	81	141	76	160	802
	(76.4)	(85.0)	(79.8)	(85.3)	(81.5)	(58.0)	(85.6)	(79.4)
1	14	13	20	8	16	24	12	107
	(15.7)	(7.8)	(11.9)	(8.4)	(9.2)	(18.3)	(6.4)	(10.6)
2 or more	7	12	14	6	16	31	15	101
	(7.9)	(7.2)	(8.3)	(6.3)	(9.2)	(23.7)	(8.0)	(10.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	84	164	138	93	155	117	183	934
	(94.4)	(98.2)	(82.1)	(97.9)	(89.6)	(89.3)	(97.9)	(92.5)
1 or more	5	3	30	2	18	14	4	76
	(5.6)	(1.8)	(17.9)	(2.1)	(10.4)	(10.7)	(2.1)	(7.5)
Swimming and Diving								
No	84	157	148	83	151	115	177	915
	(94.4)	(94.0)	(88.1)	(87.4)	(87.3)	(87.8)	(94.7)	(90.6)
Yes	5	10	20	12	22	16	10	95
	(5.6)	(6.0)	(11.9)	(12.6)	(12.7)	(12.2)	(5.3)	(9.4)
Dance								
No	86	161	166	94	171	125	178	981
	(96.6)	(96.4)	(98.8)	(98.9)	(98.8)	(95.4)	(95.2)	(97.1)
Yes	3	6	2	1	2	6	9	29
	(3.4)	(3.6)	(1.2)	(1.1)	(1.2)	(4.6)	(4.8)	(2.9)
Golf								
No	86	166	167	93	170	129	183	994
	(96.6)	(99.4)	(99.4)	(97.9)	(98.3)	(98.5)	(97.9)	(98.4)
Yes	3	1	1	2	3	2	4	16
	(3.4)	(0.6)	(0.6)	(2.1)	(1.7)	(1.5)	(2.1)	(1.6)
Total	89	167	168	95	173	131	187	1,010

Table D13 Participation by males (n and %) in six extra-curricular physical education activity groups by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	24 (58.5)	37 (52.1)	52 (67.5)	35 (59.3)	46 (56.1)	45 (58.4)	48 (53.3)	287 (57.7)
1	12 (29.3)	25 (35.2)	16 (20.8)	12 (20.3)	22 (26.8)	23 (29.9)	22 (24.4)	132 (26.6)
2-4	5 (12.2)	9 (12.7)	9 (11.7)	12 (20.3)	14 (17.1)	9 (11.7)	20 (22.2)	78 (15.7)
Striking Games								
0	34 (82.9)	65 (91.5)	66 (85.7)	54 (91.5)	68 (82.9)	70 (90.9)	80 (88.9)	437 (87.9)
1 or more	7 (17.1)	6 (8.5)	11 (14.3)	5 (8.5)	14 (17.1)	7 (9.1)	10 (11.1)	60 (12.1)
Racket Games								
0	31 (75.6)	56 (78.9)	68 (88.3)	51 (86.4)	68 (82.9)	63 (81.8)	68 (75.6)	405 (81.5)
1	9 (22.0)	7 (9.9)	3 (3.9)	7 (11.9)	11 (13.4)	9 (11.7)	11 (12.2)	57 (11.5)
2 or more	14 (2.4)	8 (11.3)	6 (7.8)	1 (1.7)	3 (3.7)	5 (6.5)	11 (12.2)	35 (7.0)
Athletics and Gymnastics								
0	27 (65.9)	57 (80.3)	63 (81.8)	50 (84.7)	64 (78.0)	41 (53.2)	76 (84.4)	378 (76.1)
1	8 (19.5)	5 (7.0)	6 (7.8)	3 (5.1)	11 (13.4)	16 (20.8)	6 (6.7)	55 (11.1)
2 or more	6 (14.6)	9 (12.7)	9 (12.7)	6 (10.2)	7 (8.5)	20 (26.0)	8 (8.9)	64 (12.9)

Table D13 (cont.)

Outdoor and Adventurous Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	38	69	62	57	72	66	86	450
	(92.7)	(97.2)	(80.5)	(96.6)	(87.8)	(85.7)	(95.6)	(90.5)
1 or more	3	2	15	2	10	11	4	47
	(7.3)	(2.8)	(19.5)	(3.4)	(12.2)	(14.3)	(4.4)	(9.5)
Swimming and Diving								
No	40	66	66	50	72	66	82	442
	(97.6)	(93.0)	(85.7)	(84.7)	(87.8)	(85.7)	(91.1)	(88.9)
Yes	1	5	11	9	10	11	8	55
	(2.4)	(7.0)	(14.3)	(15.3)	(12.2)	(14.3)	(8.9)	(11.1)
Dance								
No	40	71	77	59	82	77	89	495
	(97.6)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(98.9)	(99.6)
Yes	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
	(2.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(0.4)
Golf								
No	40	70	77	57	79	75	87	485
	(97.6)	(98.6)	(100.0)	(96.6)	(96.3)	(97.4)	(96.7)	(97.6)
Yes	1	1	0	2	3	2	3	12
	(2.4)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(3.4)	(3.7)	(2.6)	(3.3)	(2.4)
Total	41	71	77	59	82	77	90	497

Table D14 Participation by females (n and %) in six extra-curricular physical education activity groups by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	37 (77.1)	83 (86.5)	70 (76.9)	30 (83.3)	76 (83.5)	41 (75.9)	66 (68.0)	403 (78.6)
1	7 (14.6)	10 (10.4)	13 (14.3)	4 (11.1)	11 (12.1)	11 (20.4)	23 (23.7)	79 (15.4)
2-4	4 (8.3)	3 (3.1)	8 (8.8)	2 (5.6)	4 (4.4)	2 (3.7)	8 (8.2)	31 (6.0)
Striking Games								
0	41 (85.4)	90 (93.8)	76 (83.5)	36 (100.0)	85 (93.4)	47 (87.0)	84 (86.6)	459 (89.5)
1 or more	7 (14.6)	6 (6.3)	15 (16.5)	0 (0.0)	6 (6.6)	7 (13.0)	13 (13.4)	54 (10.5)
Racket Games								
0	46 (95.8)	91 (94.8)	74 (81.3)	35 (97.2)	76 (83.5)	50 (92.6)	85 (87.6)	457 (89.1)
1	1 (2.1)	4 (4.2)	12 (13.2)	1 (2.1)	15 (16.5)	3 (5.6)	7 (7.2)	43 (8.4)
2 or more	1 (2.1)	1 (1.0)	5 (5.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.9)	5 (5.2)	13 (2.5)
Athletics and Gymnastics								
0	41 (85.4)	85 (88.5)	71 (78.0)	31 (86.1)	77 (84.6)	35 (64.8)	84 (86.6)	424 (82.7)
1	6 (12.5)	8 (8.3)	14 (15.4)	5 (13.9)	5 (55.5)	8 (14.8)	6 (6.2)	52 (10.1)
2 or more	1 (2.1)	3 (3.1)	6 (6.6)	0 (0.0)	9 (9.9)	11 (20.4)	7 (7.2)	37 (7.2)

Table D14 (cont.)

Outdoor and Adventurous Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	46	95	76	36	83	51	97	484
	(95.8)	(99.0)	(83.5)	(100.0)	(91.2)	(94.4)	(100.0)	(94.3)
1 or more	2	1	15	0	8	3	0	29
	(4.2)	(1.0)	(16.5)	(0.0)	(8.8)	(5.6)	(0.0)	(5.7)
Swimming and Diving								
No	44	91	82	33	79	49	95	473
	(91.7)	(94.8)	(90.1)	(91.7)	(86.8)	(90.7)	(97.9)	(92.2)
Yes	4	5	9	3	12	5	2	40
	(8.3)	(5.2)	(9.9)	(8.3)	(13.2)	(9.3)	(2.1)	(7.8)
Dance								
No	46	90	89	35	89	48	89	486
	(95.8)	(93.8)	(97.8)	(97.2)	(97.8)	(88.9)	(91.8)	(94.7)
Yes	2	6	2	1	2	6	8	27
	(4.2)	(6.3)	(2.2)	(2.8)	(2.2)	(11.1)	(8.2)	(5.3)
Golf								
No	46	96	90	36	91	54	96	509
	(95.8)	(100.0)	(98.9)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(99.0)	(99.2)
Yes	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
	(4.2)	(0.0)	(1.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.0)	(0.8)
Total	48	96	91	36	91	54	97	513

Table D15 Participation by 15-year-olds (n and %) in six extra-curricular physical education activity groups by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	47 (74.6)	86 (72.3)	81 (73.6)	38 (60.3)	40 (81.6)	63 (70.8)	74 (67.3)	429 (71.1)
1	9 (14.3)	25 (21.0)	19 (17.3)	14 (22.2)	6 (12.2)	17 (19.1)	22 (20.0)	112 (18.6)
2-4	7 (11.1)	8 (6.7)	10 (9.1)	11 (17.5)	3 (6.1)	9 (10.1)	14 (12.7)	62 (10.3)
Striking Games								
0	55 (87.3)	113 (95.0)	96 (87.3)	59 (93.7)	46 (93.9)	78 (87.6)	97 (88.2)	544 (90.2)
1 or more	8 (12.7)	6 (5.0)	14 (12.7)	4 (6.3)	3 (6.1)	11 (12.4)	13 (11.8)	59 (9.8)
Racket Games								
0	53 (84.1)	104 (87.4)	92 (83.6)	56 (88.9)	40 (81.6)	77 (86.5)	91 (82.7)	513 (85.1)
1	8 (12.7)	8 (6.7)	9 (8.2)	6 (9.5)	9 (18.4)	7 (7.9)	10 (9.1)	57 (9.5)
2 or more	2 (3.2)	7 (5.9)	9 (8.2)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	5 (5.6)	9 (8.2)	33 (5.5)
Athletics and Gymnastics								
0	51 (81.0)	98 (82.4)	90 (81.8)	53 (84.1)	42 (85.7)	49 (55.1)	95 (86.4)	478 (79.3)
1	9 (14.3)	11 (9.2)	13 (11.8)	5 (7.9)	4 (8.2)	17 (19.1)	8 (7.3)	67 (11.1)
2 or more	3 (4.8)	10 (8.4)	7 (6.4)	5 (7.9)	3 (6.1)	23 (25.8)	7 (6.4)	58 (9.6)

Table D15 (cont.)

Outdoor and Adventurous Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	60 (95.2)	116 (97.5)	95 (86.4)	61 (96.8)	42 (85.7)	81 (91.0)	109 (99.1)	564 (93.5)
1 or more	3 (4.8)	3 (2.5)	15 (13.6)	2 (3.2)	7 (14.3)	8 (9.0)	1 (0.9)	39 (6.5)
Swimming and Diving								
No	62 (98.4)	112 (94.1)	98 (89.1)	52 (82.5)	42 (85.7)	78 (87.6)	105 (95.5)	549 (91.0)
Yes	1 (1.6)	7 (5.9)	12 (10.9)	11 (17.5)	7 (14.3)	11 (12.4)	5 (4.5)	54 (9.0)
Dance								
No	60 (95.2)	114 (95.8)	108 (98.2)	62 (98.4)	49 (100.0)	84 (94.4)	105 (95.5)	582 (96.5)
Yes	3 (4.8)	5 (4.2)	2 (1.8)	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	5 (5.6)	5 (4.5)	21 (3.5)
Golf								
No	62 (98.4)	118 (99.2)	109 (99.1)	61 (96.8)	48 (98.0)	88 (98.9)	110 (100.0)	596 (98.8)
Yes	1 (1.6)	1 (0.8)	1 (0.9)	2 (3.2)	1 (2.0)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)	7 (1.2)
Total	63	119	110	63	49	89	110	603

Table D16 Participation by 16-year-olds (n and %) in six extra-curricular physical education activity groups by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Invasion Games								
0	14 (53.8)	34 (70.8)	41 (70.7)	27 (84.4)	82 (66.1)	23 (54.8)	40 (51.9)	261 (64.1)
1	10 (38.5)	10 (20.8)	10 (17.2)	2 (6.3)	27 (21.8)	17 (40.5)	23 (29.9)	99 (24.3)
2-4	2 (7.7)	4 (8.3)	7 (12.1)	3 (9.4)	15 (12.1)	2 (4.8)	14 (18.2)	47 (11.5)
Striking Games								
0	20 (76.9)	42 (87.5)	46 (79.3)	31 (96.9)	107 (86.3)	39 (92.9)	67 (87.0)	352 (86.5)
1 or more	6 (23.1)	6 (12.5)	12 (20.7)	1 (3.1)	17 (13.7)	3 (7.1)	10 (13.0)	55 (13.5)
Racket Games								
0	24 (92.3)	43 (89.6)	50 (86.2)	30 (93.8)	104 (83.9)	36 (85.7)	62 (80.5)	349 (85.7)
1	2 (7.7)	3 (6.3)	6 (10.3)	2 (6.3)	17 (13.7)	5 (11.9)	8 (10.4)	43 (10.6)
2 or more	0 (0.0)	2 (4.2)	2 (3.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (2.4)	1 (2.4)	7 (9.1)	15 (3.7)
Athletics and Gymnastics								
0	17 (65.4)	44 (91.7)	44 (75.9)	28 (87.5)	99 (9.8)	27 (64.3)	65 (84.4)	324 (79.6)
1	5 (19.2)	2 (4.2)	7 (12.1)	3 (9.4)	12 (9.7)	7 (16.7)	4 (5.2)	40 (9.8)
2 or more	4 (15.4)	2 (4.2)	7 (12.1)	1 (3.1)	13 (10.5)	8 (19.0)	8 (10.4)	43 (10.6)

Table D16 (cont.)

Outdoor and Adventurous Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	24	48	43	32	113	36	74	370
	(92.3)	(100.0)	(74.1)	(100.0)	(91.1)	(85.7)	(96.1)	(90.9)
1 or more	2	0	15	0	11	6	3	37
	(7.7)	(0.0)	(25.9)	(0.0)	(8.9)	(14.3)	(3.9)	(9.1)
Swimming and Diving								
No	22	45	50	31	109	37	72	366
	(84.6)	(93.8)	(86.2)	(96.9)	(87.9)	(88.1)	(93.5)	(89.9)
Yes	4	3	8	1	15	5	5	41
	(15.4)	(6.3)	(13.8)	(3.1)	(12.1)	(11.9)	(6.5)	(10.1)
Dance								
No	26	47	58	32	122	41	73	399
	(100.0)	(97.9)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(98.4)	(97.6)	(94.8)	(98.0)
Yes	0	1	0	0	2	1	4	8
	(0.0)	(2.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.6)	(2.4)	(5.2)	(2.0)
Golf								
No	24	48	58	32	122	41	73	398
	(92.3)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(98.4)	(97.6)	(94.8)	(97.8)
Yes	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	9
	(7.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.6)	(2.4)	(5.2)	(2.2)
Total	26	48	58	32	124	42	77	407

Appendix E

Young People's Participation in Leisure-Sport and Physical Activity

Survey Data Tabulations

Table E1 Weekly participation (n and %) by males in leisure sport and physical activity by age and school

School	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Everyday	Total 15-year-olds	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Everyday	Total 16-year-olds
A	2	3	6	3	12	26	1	0	8	1	2	12
	(7.7)	(11.5)	(23.1)	(11.5)	(46.2)		(8.3)	(0.0)	(66.7)	(8.3)	(16.7)	
B	3	3	21	12	8	47	0	3	13	4	1	21
	(6.4)	(6.4)	(44.7)	(25.5)	(17.0)		(0.0)	(14.3)	(61.9)	(19.0)	(4.8)	
C	4	8	18	9	6	45	2	5	8	6	8	29
	(8.9)	(17.8)	(40.0)	(20.0)	(13.3)		(6.9)	(17.2)	(27.6)	(20.7)	(27.6)	
D	1	9	16	6	9	41	0	1	6	4	3	14
	(2.4)	(22.0)	(39.0)	(14.6)	(22.0)		(0.0)	(7.1)	(42.9)	(28.6)	(21.4)	
E	2	0	4	6	7	19	2	5	13	18	19	57
	(10.5)	(0.0)	(21.1)	(31.6)	(36.8)		(3.5)	(8.8)	(22.8)	(31.6)	(33.3)	
F	1	5	20	14	7	48	0	6	12	7	3	28
	(2.1)	(10.4)	(41.7)	(29.2)	(14.6)		(0.0)	(21.4)	(42.9)	(25.0)	(10.7)	
G	1	7	18	12	9	47	0	3	21	11	4	39
	(2.1)	(14.9)	(38.3)	(25.5)	(19.1)		(0.0)	(7.7)	(53.8)	(28.2)	(10.3)	

Table E2 Weekly participation (n and %) by females in leisure sport and physical activity by age and school

School	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Everyday	Total 15-year-olds	Once per week	Twice per week	3-4 times per week	5-6 times per week	Everyday	Total 16-year-olds
A	6	8	10	1	0	25	1	4	6	0	2	13
	(24.0)	(32.0)	(40.0)	(4.0)	(0.0)		(7.7)	(30.8)	(46.2)	(0.0)	(15.4)	
B	9	19	18	7	4	57	4	5	8	3	1	57
	(15.8)	(33.3)	(31.6)	(12.3)	(7.0)		(7.0)	(8.8)	(14.0)	(5.3)	(1.8)	
C	5	14	22	5	3	49	2	8	7	8	0	25
	(10.2)	(28.6)	(44.9)	(10.2)	(6.1)		(8.0)	(32.0)	(28.0)	(32.0)	(0.0)	
D	1	5	7	1	1	15	0	5	4	1	1	11
	(6.7)	(33.3)	(46.7)	(6.7)	(6.7)		(0.0)	(45.5)	(36.4)	(9.1)	(9.1)	
E	3	5	12	6	2	28	8	19	17	7	5	56
	(10.7)	(17.9)	(42.9)	(21.4)	(7.1)		(14.3)	(33.9)	(30.4)	(12.5)	(8.9)	
F	2	10	13	2	1	28	1	3	7	2	0	13
	(7.1)	(35.7)	(46.4)	(7.1)	(3.6)		(7.7)	(23.1)	(53.8)	(15.4)	(0.0)	
G	10	14	14	4	10	52	4	7	18	2	1	32
	(19.2)	(26.9)	(26.9)	(7.7)	(19.2)		(12.5)	(21.9)	(56.3)	(6.3)	(3.1)	

Table E3 Amount of time spent (n and %) by males participating in sport and physical activity in leisure by age and school

School	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	16 hours or more	Total 15-year-olds	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	16 hours or more	Total 16-year-olds
A	1	8	7	5	4	25	0	3	6	3	0	12
	(4.0)	(32.0)	(28.0)	(20.0)	(16.0)		(0.0)	(25.0)	(50.0)	(25.0)	(0.0)	
B	0	13	20	9	5	47	0	6	13	1	1	21
	(0.0)	(27.7)	(42.6)	(19.1)	(10.6)		(0.0)	(28.6)	(61.9)	(4.8)	(4.8)	
C	0	20	17	3	5	45	0	7	10	5	7	29
	(0.0)	(44.4)	(37.8)	(6.7)	(11.1)		(0.0)	(24.1)	(34.5)	(17.2)	(24.1)	
D	0	10	17	9	5	41	0	3	4	3	4	14
	(0.0)	(24.4)	(41.5)	(22.0)	(12.2)		(0.0)	(24.1)	(28.6)	(21.4)	(28.6)	
E	0	3	7	2	7	19	2	10	18	9	18	57
	(0.0)	(15.8)	(36.8)	(0.5)	(36.8)		(3.5)	(17.5)	(31.6)	(15.8)	(31.6)	
F	0	13	17	10	8	48	0	6	13	4	5	28
	(0.0)	(27.1)	(35.4)	(20.8)	(16.7)		(0.0)	(21.4)	(46.4)	(14.3)	(17.9)	
G	0	8	19	12	8	47	0	13	19	4	3	39
	(0.0)	(17.0)	(40.4)	(25.5)	(17.0)		(0.0)	(33.3)	(48.7)	(10.3)	(7.7)	

Table E4 Amount of time spent (n and %) by females participating in sport and physical activity in leisure by age and school

School	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	16 hours or more	Total 15-year-olds	Less than one hour	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	16 hours or more	Total 16-year-olds
A	3 (12.0)	10 (40.0)	11 (44.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.0)	25	0 (0.0)	5 (38.5)	6 (46.2)	2 (15.4)	0 (0.0)	13
B	2 (3.5)	34 (59.6)	16 (28.1)	3 (5.3)	2 (3.5)	57	1 (4.8)	10 (47.6)	5 (23.8)	3 (14.3)	2 (9.5)	21
C	0 (0.0)	25 (51.0)	18 (36.7)	3 (6.1)	3 (6.1)	49	0 (0.0)	10 (40.0)	13 (52.0)	1 (4.0)	1 (4.0)	25
D	0 (0.0)	9 (60.0)	5 (33.3)	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	15	0 (0.0)	8 (72.7)	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)	11
E	0 (0.0)	15 (53.6)	9 (32.1)	2 (7.1)	2 (7.1)	28	0 (0.0)	32 (57.1)	17 (30.4)	3 (5.4)	4 (7.1)	56
F	0 (0.0)	14 (50.0)	10 (35.7)	4 (14.3)	0 (0.0)	28	0 (0.0)	6 (46.2)	3 (23.1)	3 (23.1)	1 (7.7)	13
G	3 (5.8)	28 (53.8)	16 (30.8)	2 (3.8)	3 (5.8)	52	1 (3.1)	20 (62.5)	5 (15.6)	3 (9.4)	3 (9.4)	32

Table E5 The 20 most widely-played (n and %) leisure sports and physical activities among 15- and 16-year-old males in leisure

Sport or physical activity	15-year-olds	Sport or physical activity	16-year-olds
Football (kick-about)	230 (84.6)	Football (kick-about)	126 (63.0)
Pool	126 (46.3)	Pool	101 (50.5)
Football (5-a-side)	120 (44.1)	Football (11-a-side)	87 (43.5)
Swimming	119 (43.8)	Swimming	81 (40.5)
Football (11-a-side)	107 (39.3)	Football (5-a-side)	76 (38.0)
Snooker, billiards	94 (34.6)	Cycling	76 (38.0)
Cycling	90 (33.1)	Snooker, billiards	74 (37.0)
Walking	80 (29.4)	Darts	61 (30.5)
Darts	77 (28.3)	Multi-gym/fitness	61 (30.5)
Multi-gym/fitness	66 (24.3)	Weight-training	52 (26.0)
Running/jogging	65 (23.9)	Walking	52 (26.0)
Tennis	64 (23.5)	Badminton	40 (20.0)
Golf	64 (23.5)	Basketball	40 (20.0)
Weight-training	64 (23.5)	Golf	40 (20.0)
Fishing	56 (20.6)	Tennis	40 (20.0)
Basketball	54 (19.9)	Ten-pin bowling	39 (19.5)
Ten-pin bowling	40 (14.7)	Running/jogging	37 (18.5)
Motor Sports	38 (14.0)	Fishing	32 (16.0)
Squash	34 (12.5)	Rugby Union	25 (12.5)
Badminton	33 (12.1)	Cricket	22 (11.0)

Table E6 The 20 most widely-played (n and %) leisure sports and physical activities among 15- and 16-year-old females in leisure

Sport or physical activity	15-year-olds	Sport or physical activity	16-year-olds
Swimming	139 (54.7)	Swimming	92 (53.8)
Walking	85 (33.5)	Walking	68 (39.8)
Multi-gym/fitness	70 (27.6)	Pool	65 (38.0)
Football (kick-about)	62 (24.4)	Cycling	45 (26.3)
Cycling	62 (24.4)	Multi-gym/fitness	44 (25.7)
Pool	57 (22.4)	Aerobics	39 (22.8)
Running/jogging	50 (19.7)	Running/jogging	37 (21.6)
Ten-pin bowling	45 (17.7)	Football (kick-about)	34 (19.9)
Aerobics	42 (16.5)	Tennis	31 (18.1)
Dance	42 (16.5)	Ten-pin bowling	31 (18.1)
Tennis	35 (13.8)	Dance	29 (17.0)
Badminton	32 (12.6)	Badminton	29 (17.0)
Horse Riding	27 (10.6)	Ice-skating	20 (11.7)
Ice-skating	24 (9.4)	Snooker, billiards	20 (11.7)
Netball	24 (9.4)	Darts	18 (10.5)
Snooker, billiards	22 (8.7)	Horse Riding	16 (9.4)
Yoga	21 (8.3)	Netball	15 (8.8)
Hockey	19 (7.5)	Rounders	15 (8.8)
Basketball	18 (7.1)	Trampolining	13 (7.6)
Trampolining	17 (6.7)	Yoga	12 (7.0)

Table E7 Participation (n and %) by males and females in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities for total sample (n=1010)

Activity Group / No. of Activities	Males	Females	Total
Team Sports			
0	71	273	344
	(14.3)	(53.2)	(34.1)
1-2	172	185	357
	(34.6)	(36.1)	(35.3)
3-4	206	44	250
	(41.4)	(8.6)	(24.8)
5 or more	48	11	59
	(9.7)	(2.1)	(5.8)
Partner Sports			
0	115	247	362
	(23.1)	(48.1)	(35.8)
1-2	157	182	339
	(31.6)	(35.5)	(33.6)
3-4	146	61	207
	(29.4)	(11.9)	(20.5)
5 or more	79	23	102
	(15.9)	(4.5)	(10.1)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities			
0	355	357	712
	(71.4)	(69.6)	(70.5)
1-2	131	132	263
	(26.4)	(25.7)	(26.0)
3-5	11	24	35
	(2.2)	(4.7)	(3.5)
Swimming and Diving			
0	450	222	450
	(44.6)	(43.3)	(44.6)
1 or more	291	291	560
	(56.7)	(56.7)	(55.4)
Dance			
No	492	387	879
	(99.0)	(75.4)	(87.0)
Yes	5	126	131
	(1.0)	(24.6)	(13.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities			
0	179	251	430
	(36.0)	(48.9)	(42.6)
1-2	228	178	406
	(45.9)	(34.7)	(40.2)
3-4	67	63	130
	(13.5)	(12.5)	(12.9)
5-9 or more	23	21	34
	(4.6)	(4.1)	(4.4)

Table E7 (cont.)

Activity Group / No. of Activities	Males	Females	Total
Health and Fitness Activities			
0	301 (60.6)	301 (58.7)	602 (59.6)
1-2	179 (36.0)	193 (37.6)	372 (36.8)
3-5	17 (3.4)	19 (3.7)	36 (3.6)
Combat Sports and Martial Arts			
0	396 (79.7)	456 (88.9)	852 (84.4)
1 or more	101 (20.3)	57 (11.1)	158 (15.6)
Ice Skating, Roller Blading and Skateboarding			
0	399 (80.3)	413 (80.5)	812 (80.4)
1 or more	98 (19.7)	100 (19.5)	198 (19.6)
Total	497	513	1010

Table E8 Participation (n and %) by 15- and 16-year-olds in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities for total sample (n=1010)

Activity Group / No. of Activities	15-year-olds	16-year-olds	Total
Team Sports			
0	214	130	344
	(35.5)	(31.9)	(34.1)
1-2	207	150	357
	(34.3)	(36.9)	(35.3)
3-4	144	106	250
	(23.9)	(26.0)	(24.8)
5 or more	38	21	59
	(6.3)	(5.2)	(5.8)
Partner Sports			
0	235	127	362
	(39.0)	(31.2)	(35.8)
1-2	200	139	339
	(33.2)	(34.2)	(33.6)
3-4	110	97	207
	(18.2)	(23.8)	(20.5)
5 or more	58	44	102
	(9.6)	(10.8)	(10.1)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities			
0	435	277	712
	(72.1)	(68.1)	(70.5)
1-2	147	116	263
	(24.4)	(28.5)	(26.0)
3-5	21	14	35
	(3.5)	(3.4)	(3.5)
Swimming and Diving			
0	275	175	450
	(45.6)	(43.0)	(44.6)
1 or more	328	232	560
	(54.4)	(57.0)	(55.4)
Dance			
No	523	356	879
	(86.7)	(87.5)	(87.0)
Yes	80	51	131
	(13.3)	(12.5)	(13.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities			
0	269	161	430
	(44.6)	(39.6)	(42.6)
1-2	232	174	406
	(38.5)	(40.2)	(40.2)
3-4	78	52	130
	(12.9)	(12.8)	(12.9)
5-9 or more	24	20	44
	(4.0)	(4.4)	(4.4)

Table E8 (cont.)

Health and Fitness Activities	15-year-olds	16-year-olds	Total
0	301	301	602
	(60.6)	(58.7)	(59.6)
1-2	179	193	372
	(36.0)	(37.6)	(36.8)
3-5	17	19	36
	(3.4)	(3.7)	(3.6)
Combat Sports and Martial Arts			
0	517	335	852
	(85.7)	(82.3)	(84.4)
1 or more	86	72	158
	(14.3)	(17.7)	(15.6)
Ice Skating, Roller Blading and Skateboarding			
0	491	321	812
	(81.4)	(78.9)	(80.4)
1 or more	112	86	198
	(18.6)	(21.1)	(19.8)
Total	603	407	1010

Table E9 Participation (n and %) by school in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities for total sample by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Team Sports								
0	24 (27.0)	49 (29.3)	65 (38.7)	25 (26.3)	62 (35.8)	52 (39.7)	67 (35.8)	244 (34.1)
1-2	42 (47.2)	64 (38.3)	55 (32.7)	30 (31.6)	59 (34.1)	45 (34.4)	62 (33.2)	357 (35.3)
3-4	17 (19.1)	41 (24.6)	39 (23.2)	32 (33.7)	43 (24.9)	30 (22.9)	48 (25.7)	250 (24.8)
5 or more	6 (6.7)	13 (7.8)	9 (5.4)	8 (8.4)	9 (5.2)	4 (3.1)	10 (5.3)	59 (5.8)
Partner Sports								
0	37 (41.6)	49 (29.3)	57 (33.9)	33 (34.7)	53 (30.6)	64 (48.9)	69 (36.9)	362 (35.8)
1-2	35 (39.3)	52 (31.1)	57 (33.9)	39 (41.1)	64 (37.0)	35 (26.7)	57 (30.5)	339 (33.6)
3-4	11 (12.4)	40 (24.0)	32 (19.0)	13 (13.7)	42 (24.3)	27 (20.6)	42 (22.5)	207 (20.5)
5 or more	6 (6.7)	26 (15.6)	22 (13.1)	10 (10.5)	14 (8.1)	5 (3.8)	19 (19.2)	102 (10.1)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities								
0	61 (68.5)	121 (72.5)	107 (63.7)	70 (73.7)	119 (68.8)	101 (77.1)	133 (71.1)	712 (70.5)
1-2	27 (30.3)	39 (23.4)	58 (34.5)	24 (25.3)	44 (25.4)	28 (21.4)	43 (23.0)	263 (26.0)
3-5	1 (1.1)	7 (4.2)	3 (1.8)	1 (1.1)	10 (5.8)	2 (1.5)	11 (5.9)	35 (3.5)

Table E9 (cont.)

Swimming and Diving	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	34 (38.2)	62 (37.1)	72 (42.9)	50 (52.6)	71 (41.0)	72 (55.0)	89 (47.6)	450 (44.6)
1 or more	55 (61.8)	105 (62.9)	96 (57.1)	45 (47.4)	102 (59.0)	59 (45.0)	98 (52.4)	560 (55.4)
Dance								
No	78 (87.6)	137 (82.0)	142 (84.5)	87 (91.6)	151 (87.3)	119 (90.8)	165 (88.2)	879 (87.0)
Yes	11 (12.4)	30 (18.0)	26 (15.5)	8 (8.4)	22 (12.7)	12 (9.2)	22 (11.8)	131 (13.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	35 (39.3)	60 (35.9)	59 (35.1)	44 (46.3)	67 (38.7)	84 (64.1)	81 (43.3)	430 (42.6)
1-2	41 (46.1)	72 (43.1)	73 (43.5)	35 (36.8)	70 (40.5)	37 (28.2)	78 (41.7)	406 (40.2)
3-4	10 (11.2)	26 (15.6)	26 (15.5)	12 (12.6)	28 (16.2)	8 (6.1)	20 (10.7)	130 (12.9)
5-9	3 (3.4)	9 (5.4)	10 (6.0)	4 (4.2)	8 (4.6)	2 (1.5)	8 (4.3)	44 (4.4)
Health and Fitness Activities								
0	62 (69.7)	101 (60.5)	94 (56.0)	60 (63.2)	101 (58.4)	69 (52.7)	115 (61.5)	602 (59.6)
1-2	25 (28.1)	63 (37.7)	70 (41.7)	34 (35.8)	61 (35.3)	54 (41.2)	65 (34.8)	372 (36.8)
3-5	2 (2.2)	3 (1.8)	4 (2.4)	1 (1.1)	11 (6.4)	8 (6.1)	7 (3.7)	36 (3.6)

Table E9 (cont.)

Combat Sports and Martial Arts								
0	77 (86.5)	142 (85.0)	139 (82.7)	76 (80.0)	151 (87.3)	109 (83.2)	158 (85.5)	852 (84.4)
1 or more	12 (13.5)	25 (15.0)	29 (17.3)	19 (20.0)	22 (12.7)	22 (16.8)	29 (15.5)	158 (15.6)
Ice-skating, Roller-blading and Skateboarding	**School A**	**School B**	**School C**	**School D**	**School E**	**School F**	**School G**	**Total**
0	67 (75.3)	133 (79.6)	130 (77.4)	81 (85.3)	128 (74.0)	124 (94.7)	149 (79.7)	812 (80.4)
1 or more	22 (24.7)	34 (20.4)	38 (22.6)	14 (14.7)	45 (26.0)	7 (5.3)	38 (20.3)	198 (19.6)
Total	89	167	168	95	173	131	187	1,010

Table E10 Participation (n and %) by males in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Team Sports								
0	5 (12.2)	8 (11.3)	15 (19.5)	6 (10.2)	11 (13.4)	11 (14.3)	15 (16.7)	71 (14.3)
1-2	18 (43.9)	25 (35.2)	27 (35.1)	17 (28.8)	29 (35.4)	33 (42.9)	23 (25.6)	172 (34.6)
3-4	14 (34.1)	28 (39.4)	28 (36.4)	29 (49.2)	35 (42.7)	30 (39.0)	42 (46.7)	206 (41.4)
5 or more	4 (9.8)	10 (14.1)	7 (9.1)	7 (11.9)	7 (8.5)	3 (3.9)	10 (11.1)	48 (9.7)
Partner Sports								
0	11 (26.8)	11 (15.5)	19 (24.7)	16 (27.1)	18 (22.0)	23 (29.9)	17 (18.9)	115 (23.1)
1-2	16 (39.0)	16 (22.5)	25 (32.5)	21 (35.6)	29 (35.4)	24 (31.2)	26 (28.9)	157 (31.6)
3-4	9 (22.0)	26 (36.6)	18 (23.4)	12 (20.3)	25 (30.5)	25 (32.5)	31 (34.4)	146 (29.4)
5 or more	5 (12.2)	18 (25.4)	15 (19.5)	10 (16.9)	10 (12.2)	5 (6.5)	16 (17.8)	79 (15.9)

Table E10 (cont.)

Athletic and Gymnastic Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	25 (61.0)	53 (74.6)	51 (66.2)	41 (69.5)	57 (69.5)	63 (81.8)	65 (72.2)	355 (71.4)
1-2	16 (39.0)	16 (22.5)	24 (31.2)	18 (30.5)	19 (23.2)	14 (18.2)	24 (26.7)	131 (26.4)
3-5	0 (0.0)	2 (2.8)	23 (2.6)	0 (0.0)	6 (7.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.1)	11 (2.2)
Swimming and Diving								
0	14 (34.1)	30 (42.3)	32 (41.6)	30 (50.8)	37 (45.1)	42 (54.5)	43 (47.8)	228 (45.9)
1 or more	27 (65.9)	41 (57.7)	455 (58.4)	29 (49.2)	45 (54.9)	35 (45.5)	47 (52.2)	269 (54.1)
Dance								
No	40 (97.6)	70 (98.6)	75 (97.4)	59 (100.0)	82 (100.0)	77 (100.0)	89 (98.9)	492 (99.0)
Yes	1 (2.4)	1 (1.4)	2 (2.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.1)	5 (1.0)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	10 (24.4)	17 (23.9)	23 (29.9)	24 (40.7)	36 (43.9)	41 (53.2)	28 (31.1)	179 (36.0)
1-2	23 (56.1)	38 (53.5)	36 (46.8)	21 (35.6)	33 (40.2)	28 (36.4)	49 (54.4)	228 (45.9)
3-4	6 (14.6)	12 (16.9)	12 (15.6)	11 (18.6)	9 (11.0)	7 (9.1)	10 (11.1)	67 (13.5)
5-9	2 (4.9)	4 (5.6)	6 (7.8)	3 (5.1)	4 (4.9)	1 (1.3)	3 (3.3)	23 (4.6)

Table E10 (cont.)

Health and Fitness Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	26 (63.4)	43 (60.6)	46 (59.7)	41 (69.5)	55 (67.1)	40 (51.9)	50 (55.6)	301 (60.6)
1-2	14 (34.1)	27 (38.0)	30 (39.0)	18 (30.5)	21 (25.6)	32 (41.6)	37 (41.1)	179 (36.0)
3-5	1 (2.4)	1 (1.4)	1 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	6 (7.3)	5 (6.5)	3 (3.3)	17 (3.4)
Combat Sports and Martial Arts								
0	34 (82.9)	55 (77.5)	66 (85.7)	43 (72.9)	68 (82.9)	60 (77.9)	70 (77.8)	396 (79.7)
1 or more	7 (17.1)	16 (22.5)	11 (14.3)	16 (27.1)	14 (17.1)	17 (22.1)	20 (22.2)	101 (20.3)
Ice-skating, Roller-blading and Skateboarding								
0	26 (63.4)	54 (76.1)	62 (80.5)	51 (86.4)	63 (76.8)	74 (96.1)	69 (76.7)	399 (80.3)
1 or more	15 (36.6)	17 (23.9)	15 (19.5)	8 (13.6)	19 (23.2)	3 (3.9)	21 (23.3)	98 (19.7)
Total	41	71	77	59	82	77	90	497

Table E11 Participation (n and %) by females in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Team Sports								
0	19	41	15	6	11	11	15	71
	(39.6)	(42.7)	(19.5)	(10.2)	(13.4)	(14.3)	(16.7)	(14.3)
1-2	24	39	27	17	29	33	23	172
	(50.0)	(40.6)	(35.1)	(28.8)	(35.4)	(42.9)	(25.6)	(34.6)
3-4	3	13	28	29	35	30	42	206
	(6.3)	(13.5)	(36.4)	(49.2)	(42.7)	(39.0)	(46.7)	(41.4)
5 or more	2	3	7	7	7	3	10	48
	(4.2)	(3.1)	(9.1)	(11.9)	(8.5)	(3.9)	(11.1)	(9.7)
Partner Sports								
0	26	38	38	17	35	41	52	247
	(54.2)	(39.6)	(41.8)	(47.2)	(38.5)	(75.9)	(53.6)	(48.1)
1-2	19	36	32	18	35	11	31	182
	(39.6)	(37.5)	(35.2)	(50.0)	(38.5)	(20.4)	(32.0)	(35.5)
3-4	2	14	14	1	17	2	11	61
	(4.2)	(14.6)	(15.4)	(2.8)	(18.7)	(3.7)	(11.3)	(11.9)
5 or more	1	8	7	0	4	0	3	23
	(2.1)	(8.3)	(7.7)	(0.0)	(4.4)	(0.0)	(3.1)	(4.5)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities								
0	36	68	56	29	62	38	68	357
	(75.0)	(70.8)	(61.5)	(80.6)	(68.1)	(70.4)	(70.1)	(69.6)
1-2	11	23	34	6	25	14	19	132
	(22.9)	(24.0)	(37.4)	(16.7)	(27.5)	(25.9)	(19.6)	(25.7)
3-5	1	5	1	1	4	2	10	24
	(2.1)	(5.2)	(1.1)	(2.8)	(4.4)	(3.7)	(10.3)	(4.7)

Table E11 (cont.)

Swimming and Diving	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	14	30	32	30	37	42	43	228
	(34.1)	(42.3)	(41.6)	(50.8)	(45.1)	(54.5)	(47.8)	(45.9)
1 or more	27	41	45	29	45	35	47	269
	(65.9)	(57.7)	(58.4)	(49.2)	(54.9)	(45.5)	(52.2)	(54.1)
Dance								
No	38	67	67	28	69	42	76	387
	(79.2)	(69.8)	(73.6)	(77.8)	(75.8)	(77.8)	(78.4)	(75.4)
Yes	10	29	24	8	22	12	21	126
	(20.8)	(30.2)	(26.4)	(22.2)	(24.2)	(22.2)	(21.6)	(24.6)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	25	43	36	20	31	43	53	251
	(52.1)	(44.8)	(39.6)	(55.6)	(34.1)	(79.6)	(54.6)	(48.9)
1-2	18	34	37	14	37	9	29	178
	(37.5)	(35.4)	(40.7)	(38.9)	(40.7)	(16.7)	(29.9)	(34.7)
3-4	4	14	14	1	19	1	10	63
	(8.3)	(14.6)	(15.4)	(2.8)	(20.9)	(1.9)	(10.3)	(12.3)
5-9	1	5	4	1	4	1	5	21
	(2.1)	(5.2)	(4.4)	(2.8)	(4.4)	(1.9)	(5.2)	(4.1)
Health and Fitness Activities								
0	36	58	48	19	46	29	65	301
	(75.0)	(60.4)	(52.7)	(52.8)	(50.5)	(53.7)	(67.0)	(58.7)
1-2	11	36	40	16	40	22	28	193
	(22.9)	(37.5)	(44.0)	(44.4)	(44.0)	(40.7)	(28.9)	(37.6)
3-5	1	2	3	1	5	3	4	19
	(2.1)	(2.1)	(3.3)	(2.8)	(5.5)	(5.6)	(4.1)	(3.7)

Table E11 (cont.)

Combat Sports and Martial Arts	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	43	87	73	33	83	49	88	456
	(89.6)	(90.6)	(80.2)	(91.7)	(91.2)	(90.7)	(90.7)	(88.9)
1 or more	5	9	18	3	8	5	9	57
	(10.4)	(9.4)	(19.8)	(8.3)	(8.8)	(9.3)	(9.3)	(11.1)
Ice-skating, Roller-blading and Skateboarding								
0	41	79	68	30	65	50	80	413
	(85.4)	(82.3)	(74.7)	(83.3)	(71.4)	(92.6)	(82.5)	(80.5)
1 or more	7	17	23	6	26	4	17	100
	(14.6)	(17.7)	(25.3)	(16.7)	(28.6)	(7.4)	(17.5)	(19.5)
Total	48	96	91	36	91	54	97	513

Table E12 Participation (n and %) by 15-year-olds in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Team Sports								
0	19	34	48	14	17	40	42	214
	(30.2)	(28.6)	(43.6)	(22.2)	(34.7)	(44.9)	(38.2)	(35.5)
1-2	27	45	33	20	18	26	38	207
	(42.9)	(37.8)	(30.0)	(31.7)	(36.7)	(29.2)	(34.5)	(34.3)
3-4	13	30	23	23	12	19	24	144
	(20.6)	(25.2)	(20.9)	(36.5)	(24.5)	(21.3)	(21.8)	(23.9)
5 or more	4	10	6	6	2	4	6	38
	(6.3)	(8.4)	(5.5)	(9.5)	(4.1)	(4.5)	(5.5)	(6.3)
Partner Sports								
0	27	37	42	22	12	44	51	235
	(42.9)	(31.1)	(38.2)	(34.9)	(24.5)	(49.4)	(46.4)	(39.0)
1-2	25	40	40	23	17	26	29	200
	(39.7)	(33.6)	(36.4)	(36.5)	(34.7)	(29.2)	(26.4)	(33.2)
3-4	7	24	18	10	15	15	21	110
	(11.1)	(20.2)	(16.4)	(15.9)	(30.6)	(16.9)	(19.1)	(18.2)
5 or more	4	18	10	8	5	4	9	58
	(6.3)	(15.1)	(9.1)	(12.7)	(10.2)	(4.5)	(8.2)	(9.6)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities								
0	47	84	72	46	36	71	79	435
	(74.6)	(70.6)	(65.5)	(73.0)	(73.5)	(79.8)	(71.8)	(72.1)
1-2	15	28	36	16	10	17	25	147
	(23.8)	(23.5)	(32.7)	(25.4)	(20.4)	(19.1)	(22.7)	(24.4)
3-5	1	7	2	1	3	1	6	21
	(1.6)	(5.9)	(1.8)	(1.6)	(6.1)	(1.1)	(5.5)	(3.5)

Table E12 (cont.)

Swimming and Diving	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	28	39	51	32	18	52	55	275
	(44.4)	(32.8)	(46.4)	(50.8)	(36.7)	(58.4)	(50.0)	(45.6)
1 or more	35	80	59	31	31	37	55	328
	(55.6)	(67.2)	(53.6)	(49.2)	(63.3)	(41.6)	(50.0)	(54.4)
Dance								
No	54	94	59	59	45	82	95	523
	(85.7)	(79.0)	(93.7)	(93.7)	(91.8)	(92.1)	(86.4)	(86.7)
Yes	9	25	4	4	4	7	15	80
	(14.3)	(21.0)	(6.3)	(6.3)	(8.2)	(7.9)	(13.6)	(13.3)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	25	45	41	29	16	61	52	269
	(39.7)	(37.8)	(37.3)	(46.0)	(32.7)	(68.5)	(47.3)	(44.6)
1-2	29	47	45	24	21	22	44	232
	(46.0)	(39.5)	(40.9)	(38.1)	(42.9)	(24.7)	(40.0)	(38.5)
3-4	7	19	20	7	9	4	12	78
	(11.1)	(16.0)	(18.2)	(11.1)	(18.4)	(4.5)	(10.9)	(12.9)
5-9	2	8	4	3	3	2	2	24
	(3.2)	(6.7)	(3.6)	(4.8)	(6.1)	(2.2)	(1.8)	(4.0)
Health and Fitness Activities								
0	46	69	63	39	29	46	70	362
	(73.0)	(58.0)	(57.3)	(61.9)	(59.2)	(51.7)	(63.6)	(60.0)
1-2	15	49	45	24	18	37	36	224
	(23.8)	(41.2)	(40.9)	(38.1)	(36.7)	(41.6)	(32.7)	(37.1)
3-5	2	1	2	0	2	6	4	17
	(3.2)	(0.8)	(1.8)	(0.0)	(4.1)	(6.7)	(3.6)	(2.8)

Table E12 (cont.)

Combat Sports and Martial Arts	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	57	101	92	50	44	77	96	517
	(90.5)	(84.9)	(83.6)	(79.4)	(89.8)	(86.5)	(87.3)	(85.7)
1 or more	6	18	18	13	5	12	14	86
	(9.5)	(15.1)	(16.4)	(20.6)	(10.2)	(13.5)	(12.7)	(14.3)
Ice-skating, Roller-blading and Skateboarding								
0	49	96	87	51	36	84	88	491
	(77.8)	(80.7)	(79.1)	(81.0)	(73.5)	(94.4)	(80.0)	(81.4)
1 or more	14	23	23	12	13	5	22	112
	(22.2)	(19.3)	(20.9)	(19.0)	(26.5)	(5.6)	(20.0)	(18.6)
Total	63	119	110	63	49	89	110	603

Table E13 Participation (n and %) by 16-year-olds in nine categories of leisure sports and physical activities by school

Activity Group / No. of Activities	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
Team Sports								
0	5 (19.2)	15 (31.3)	17 (29.3)	11 (34.4)	45 (36.3)	12 (28.6)	25 (32.5)	130 (31.9)
1-2	15 (57.7)	19 (39.6)	22 (37.9)	10 (31.3)	41 (33.1)	19 (45.2)	24 (31.2)	150 (36.9)
3-4	4 (15.4)	11 (22.9)	16 (27.6)	9 (28.1)	31 (25.0)	11 (26.2)	24 (31.2)	106 (26.0)
5 or more	2 (7.7)	3 (6.3)	3 (5.2)	2 (6.3)	7 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	4 (5.2)	21 (5.2)
Partner Sports								
0	10 (38.5)	12 (25.0)	15 (25.9)	11 (34.4)	41 (33.1)	20 (47.6)	18 (23.4)	127 (31.2)
1-2	10 (38.5)	12 (25.0)	17 (29.3)	16 (50.0)	47 (37.9)	9 (21.4)	28 (36.4)	139 (34.2)
3-4	4 (15.4)	16 (33.3)	14 (24.1)	3 (9.4)	27 (21.8)	12 (28.6)	21 (27.3)	97 (23.8)
5 or more	2 (7.7)	8 (16.7)	12 (20.7)	2 (6.3)	9 (7.3)	1 (2.4)	10 (13.0)	44 (10.8)
Athletic and Gymnastic Activities								
0	14 (53.8)	37 (77.1)	35 (60.3)	24 (75.0)	83 (66.9)	30 (71.4)	54 (70.1)	277 (68.1)
1-2	12 (46.2)	11 (22.9)	22 (37.9)	8 (25.0)	34 (27.4)	11 (26.2)	18 (23.4)	116 (28.5)
3-5	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.7)	0 (0.0)	7 (5.6)	1 (2.4)	5 (6.5)	14 (3.4)

Table E13 (cont.)

Swimming and Diving	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	6	23	21	18	53	20	34	175
	(23.1)	(47.9)	(36.2)	(56.3)	(42.7)	(47.6)	(44.2)	(43.0)
1 or more	20	25	37	14	71	22	43	232
	(76.9)	(52.1)	(63.8)	(43.8)	(57.3)	(52.4)	(55.8)	(57.0)
Dance								
No	24	43	48	28	106	37	70	356
	(92.3)	(89.6)	(82.8)	(87.5)	(85.5)	(88.1)	(90.9)	(87.5)
Yes	2	5	10	4	18	5	7	51
	(7.7)	(10.4)	(17.2)	(12.5)	(14.5)	(11.9)	(9.1)	(12.5)
Outdoor and Adventurous Activities								
0	10	15	18	15	51	23	29	161
	(38.5)	(31.3)	(31.0)	(46.9)	(41.1)	(54.8)	(37.7)	(39.6)
1-2	12	25	28	11	49	15	34	174
	(46.2)	(52.1)	(48.3)	(34.4)	(39.5)	(35.7)	(44.2)	(42.8)
3-4	3	7	6	5	19	4	8	52
	(11.5)	(14.6)	(10.3)	(15.6)	(15.3)	(9.5)	(10.4)	(12.8)
5-9	1	1	6	1	5	0	6	20
	(3.8)	(2.1)	(10.3)	(3.1)	(4.0)	(0.0)	(7.8)	(4.9)
Health and Fitness Activities								
0	16	32	31	21	72	23	45	240
	(61.5)	(66.7)	(53.4)	(65.6)	(58.1)	(54.8)	(58.4)	(59.0)
1-2	10	14	25	10	43	17	29	148
	(38.5)	(29.2)	(43.1)	(31.3)	(34.7)	(40.5)	(37.7)	(36.4)
3-5	0	2	2	1	9	2	3	19
	(0.0)	(4.2)	(3.4)	(3.1)	(7.3)	(4.8)	(3.9)	(4.7)

Table E13 (cont.)

Combat Sports and Martial Arts	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	Total
0	20 (76.9)	41 (85.4)	47 (81.0)	26 (81.3)	107 (86.3)	32 (76.2)	62 (80.5)	335 (82.3)
1 or more	6 (23.1)	7 (14.6)	11 (19.0)	6 (18.8)	17 (13.7)	10 (23.8)	15 (19.5)	72 (17.7)
Ice-skating, Roller-blading and Skateboarding								
0	18 (69.2)	37 (77.1)	43 (74.1)	30 (93.8)	92 (74.2)	40 (95.2)	61 (79.2)	321 (78.9)
1 or more	8 (30.8)	11 (22.9)	15 (25.9)	2 (6.3)	32 (25.8)	2 (4.8)	16 (20.8)	86 (21.1)
Total	26	48	58	32	124	42	77	407

Appendix F

Young People's Use of Media-Oriented Leisure and Commercial Leisure Provisions

Survey Data Tabulations

Table F1 Involvement in privatized (home-based) leisure (n and %) by sex and age

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Read books/ magazines	Every day	80	53	27	89	58	31
		(16.1)	(18.5)	(12.9)	(17.3)	(18.4)	(15.7)
	4-6 times per week	57	29	28	70	42	28
		(11.5)	(10.1)	(13.3)	(13.6)	(13.3)	(14.2)
	2-3 times per week	77	42	35	118	74	44
		(15.5)	(14.6)	(16.7)	(23.0)	(23.4)	(22.3)
	Once per week	64	32	32	106	66	40
		(12.9)	(11.1)	(15.2)	(20.7)	(20.9)	(20.3)
	2-3 times per month	24	17	7	33	20	13
		(4.8)	(5.9)	(3.3)	(6.4)	(6.3)	(6.6)
	Once per month	42	22	20	40	24	16
		(8.5)	(7.7)	(9.5)	(7.8)	(7.6)	(8.1)
Homework	Every day	77	47	30	122	69	53
		(15.5)	(16.4)	(14.3)	(23.8)	(21.8)	(26.9)
	4-6 times per week	103	62	41	120	77	43
		(20.7)	(21.6)	(19.5)	(23.4)	(24.4)	(21.8)
	2-3 times per week	134	64	70	143	85	58
		(27.0)	(22.3)	(33.3)	(27.9)	(26.9)	(29.4)
	Once per week	62	35	27	59	38	21
		(12.5)	(12.2)	(12.9)	(11.5)	(12.0)	(10.7)
	2-3 times per month	16	10	6	13	7	6
		(3.2)	(3.5)	(2.9)	(2.5)	(2.2)	(3.0)
	Once per month	26	17	9	19	15	4
		(5.2)	(5.9)	(4.3)	(3.7)	(4.7)	(2.0)

Table F1 (cont.)

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Listen to music at home	Every day	354	199	155	411	247	164
		(71.2)	(69.3)	(73.8)	(80.1)	(78.2)	(83.2)
	4-6 times per week	62	37	25	46	33	13
		(12.5)	(12.9)	(11.9)	(9.0)	(10.4)	(6.6)
	2-3 times per week	37	23	14	26	16	10
		(7.4)	(8.0)	(6.7)	(5.1)	(5.1)	(5.1)
	Once per week	7	5	2	4	4	0
		(1.4)	(1.7)	(1.0)	(0.8)	(1.3)	(0.0)
	2-3 times per month	6	3	3	0	0	0
		(1.2)	(1.0)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
	Once per month	1	0	1	1	0	1
		(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.5)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.5)
Learn/ play an instrument	Every day	33	21	12	20	12	8
		(6.6)	(7.3)	(5.7)	(3.9)	(3.8)	(4.1)
	4-6 times per week	16	11	5	10	7	3
		(3.2)	(3.8)	(2.4)	(1.9)	(2.2)	(1.5)
	2-3 times per week	12	5	7	16	10	6
		(2.4)	(1.7)	(3.3)	(3.1)	(3.2)	(3.0)
	Once per week	13	6	7	25	15	10
		(2.6)	(2.1)	(3.3)	(4.9)	(4.7)	(5.1)
	2-3 times per month	10	3	7	10	5	5
		(2.0)	(1.0)	(3.3)	(1.9)	(1.6)	(2.5)
	Once per month	27	16	11	17	5	12
		(5.4)	(5.6)	(5.2)	(3.3)	(1.6)	(6.1)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Table F2 Involvement in other forms of out-of-home leisure (n and %) by sex and age

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Meet friends & hang around	Every day	188	112	76	185	115	70
		(37.8)	(39.0)	(36.2)	(36.1)	(36.4)	(35.5)
	4-6 times per week	94	51	43	92	61	31
		(18.9)	(17.8)	(20.5)	(17.9)	(19.3)	(15.7)
	2-3 times per week	109	60	49	110	70	40
		(21.9)	(20.9)	(23.3)	(21.4)	(22.2)	(20.3)
	Once per week	39	24	15	53	36	17
		(7.8)	(8.4)	(7.1)	(10.3)	(11.4)	(8.6)
	2-3 times per month	7	6	1	18	12	6
		(1.4)	(2.1)	(0.5)	(3.5)	(3.8)	(3.0)
	Once per month	4	4	0	5	3	2
		(0.8)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(1.0)	(0.9)	(1.0)
Sit & talk	Every day	184	96	88	331	199	132
		(37.0)	(33.4)	(41.9)	(64.5)	(63.0)	(67.0)
	4-6 times per week	50	26	24	50	31	19
		(10.1)	(9.1)	(11.4)	(9.7)	(9.8)	(9.6)
	2-3 times per week	49	27	22	41	28	13
		(9.9)	(9.4)	(10.5)	(8.0)	(8.9)	(6.6)
	Once per week	31	23	8	11	7	4
		(6.2)	(8.0)	(3.8)	(2.1)	(2.2)	(2.0)
	2-3 times per month	9	5	4	5	4	1
		(1.8)	(1.7)	(1.9)	(1.0)	(1.3)	(0.5)
	Once per month	15	11	4	5	5	0
		(3.0)	(3.8)	(1.9)	(1.0)	(1.6)	(0.0)

Table F2 (cont.)

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Visit the local park	Every day	27 (5.4)	17 (5.9)	10 (4.8)	16 (3.1)	6 (1.9)	10 (5.1)
	4-6 times per week	34 (6.8)	17 (5.9)	17 (8.1)	15 (2.9)	10 (3.2)	5 (2.5)
	2-3 times per week	75 (15.1)	36 (12.5)	39 (18.6)	41 (8.0)	25 (7.9)	16 (8.1)
	Once per week	62 (12.5)	34 (11.8)	28 (13.3)	61 (11.9)	38 (12.0)	23 (11.7)
	2-3 times per month	50 (10.1)	27 (9.4)	23 (11.0)	66 (12.9)	38 (12.0)	28 (14.2)
	Once per month	61 (12.3)	44 (15.3)	17 (8.1)	107 (20.9)	67 (21.2)	40 (20.3)
Attend local youth club	Every day	4 (0.8)	3 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	5 (1.0)	3 (0.9)	2 (1.0)
	4-6 times per week	10 (2.0)	4 (1.4)	6 (2.9)	7 (1.4)	4 (1.3)	3 (1.5)
	2-3 times per week	35 (7.0)	27 (9.4)	8 (3.8)	19 (3.7)	15 (4.7)	4 (2.0)
	Once per week	38 (7.6)	20 (7.0)	18 (8.6)	33 (6.4)	15 (4.7)	18 (9.1)
	2-3 times per month	16 (3.2)	8 (2.8)	8 (3.8)	13 (2.5)	9 (2.8)	4 (2.0)
	Once per month	46 (9.3)	26 (9.1)	20 (9.5)	49 (9.6)	25 (7.9)	24 (12.2)

Table F2 (cont.)

Go shopping with friends	Every day	4 (0.8)	2 (0.7)	2 (1.0)	16 (3.1)	11 (3.5)	5 (2.5)
	4-6 times per week	11 (2.2)	7 (2.4)	4 (1.9)	27 (5.3)	19 (6.0)	8 (4.1)
	2-3 times per week	39 (7.8)	22 (7.7)	17 (8.1)	96 (18.7)	68 (21.5)	28 (14.2)
	Once per week	96 (19.3)	55 (19.2)	41 (19.5)	197 (38.4)	122 (38.6)	75 (38.1)
	2-3 times per month	93 (18.7)	47 (16.4)	46 (21.9)	100 (19.5)	55 (17.4)	45 (22.8)
	Once per month	67 (13.5)	37 (12.9)	30 (14.3)	41 (8.0)	23 (7.3)	18 (9.1)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Table F3 Use of commercialized leisure provisions (n and %) by sex and age

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Visit the cinema	Every day	2	1	1	0	0	0
		(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
	4-6 times per week	8	6	2	1	1	0
		(1.6)	(2.1)	(1.0)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)
	2-3 times per week	8	4	4	13	8	5
		(1.6)	(1.4)	(1.9)	(2.5)	(2.5)	(2.5)
	Once per week	64	40	24	51	28	23
		(12.9)	(13.9)	(11.4)	(9.9)	(8.9)	(11.7)
	2-3 times per month	144	81	63	164	111	53
		(29.0)	(28.2)	(30.0)	(32.0)	(35.1)	(26.9)
	Once per month	169	98	71	202	121	81
		(34.0)	(34.1)	(33.8)	(39.4)	(38.3)	(41.1)
Go to a club/ party/ disco	Every day	3	2	1	3	1	2
		(0.6)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(0.6)	(0.3)	(1.0)
	4-6 times per week	3	2	1	3	3	0
		(0.6)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(0.6)	(0.9)	(0.0)
	2-3 times per week	24	13	11	47	26	21
		(4.8)	(4.5)	(5.2)	(9.2)	(8.2)	(10.7)
	Once per week	57	35	22	78	43	35
		(11.5)	(12.2)	(10.5)	(15.2)	(13.6)	(17.8)
	2-3 times per month	66	38	28	97	58	39
		(13.3)	(13.2)	(13.3)	(18.9)	(18.4)	(19.8)
	Once per month	100	54	46	128	82	46
		(20.1)	(18.8)	(21.9)	(25.0)	(25.9)	(23.4)

Table F3 (cont.)

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Visit local pub/ bar	Every day	12	5	7	5	2	3
		(2.4)	(1.7)	(3.3)	(1.0)	(0.6)	(1.5)
	4-6 times per week	13	7	6	8	6	2
		(2.6)	(2.4)	(2.9)	(1.6)	(1.9)	(1.0)
	2-3 times per week	38	20	18	43	20	23
		(7.6)	(7.0)	(8.6)	(8.4)	(6.3)	(11.7)
	Once per week	68	43	25	71	40	31
		(13.7)	(15.0)	(11.9)	(13.8)	(12.7)	(15.7)
	2-3 times per month	49	27	22	21	3	18
		(9.9)	(9.4)	(10.5)	(4.1)	(11.4)	(9.1)
	Once per month	57	30	27	72	43	29
		(11.5)	(10.5)	(12.9)	(14.0)	(13.6)	(14.7)
Betting/ gambling	Every day	13	10	5	3	3	0
		(2.6)	(3.5)	(2.4)	(0.6)	(0.9)	(0.0)
	4-6 times per week	10	9	1	0	0	0
		(2.0)	(3.1)	(0.5)	(0.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)
	2-3 times per week	31	21	10	5	1	4
		(6.2)	(7.3)	(4.8)	(1.0)	(0.3)	(2.0)
	Once per week	41	28	13	10	4	6
		(8.2)	(9.8)	(6.2)	(1.9)	(1.3)	(3.0)
	2-3 times per month	12	6	6	10	7	3
		(2.4)	(2.1)	(2.9)	(1.9)	(2.2)	(1.5)
	Once per month	39	26	13	18	8	10
		(7.8)	(9.1)	(6.2)	(3.5)	(2.5)	(5.1)

Table F3 (cont.)

Activity	Frequency of involvement	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Visit amusement arcade	Every day	4	3	1	0	0	0
		(0.8)	(1.0)	(0.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
	4-6 times per week	5	2	3	2	2	0
		(1.0)	(0.7)	(1.4)	(0.4)	(0.6)	(0.0)
	2-3 times per week	14	10	4	7	4	3
		(2.8)	(3.5)	(1.9)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.5)
	Once per week	22	13	9	17	9	8
		(4.4)	(4.5)	(4.3)	(3.3)	(2.8)	(4.1)
	2-3 times per month	26	11	15	25	15	10
		(5.2)	(3.8)	(7.1)	(4.9)	(4.7)	(5.1)
	Once per month	45	26	19	33	19	14
		(9.1)	(9.1)	(9.0)	(6.4)	(6.0)	(7.1)
Voluntary/ community work	Every day	1	1	0	2	1	1
		(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)	(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.5)
	4-6 times per week	3	0	3	4	2	2
		(0.6)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(0.8)	(0.6)	(1.0)
	2-3 times per week	3	1	2	6	2	4
		(0.6)	(0.3)	(1.0)	(1.2)	(0.6)	(2.0)
	Once per week	13	6	7	15	3	12
		(2.6)	(2.1)	(3.3)	(2.9)	(0.9)	(6.1)
	2-3 times per month	7	2	5	7	4	3
		(1.4)	(0.7)	(2.4)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.5)
	Once per month	26	12	14	25	15	10
		(5.2)	(4.2)	(6.7)	(4.9)	(4.7)	(5.1)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Table F4 People with whom young people usually attend sports events/matches (n and %) by sex and age*

People	Males Total	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Females Total	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Friends	52 (16.9)	27 (16.1)	25 (18.0)	17 (13.7)	7 (9.9)	10 (18.9)
Friends & father	46 (14.9)	21 (12.5)	25 (18.0)	8 (6.5)	4 (5.6)	4 (7.5)
Friends, father & brother(s)	23 (7.5)	10 (6.0)	13 (9.4)	1 (0.8)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)
Father	35 (11.4)	19 (11.3)	16 (11.5)	29 (23.4)	17 (23.9)	12 (22.6)
Total	307	168	139	124	71	53

* Only those people or groups of people mentioned by the highest proportions of young people are included.

Table F5 Monthly expenditure on media-oriented products (n and %) by sex and age

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Computer games	Up to £5.00	16	12	4	3	2	1
		(3.2)	(4.2)	(1.9)	(0.6)	(0.6)	(0.5)
	£5.01-10.00	31	16	15	9	4	5
		(6.2)	(5.6)	(7.1)	(1.8)	(1.3)	(2.5)
	£10.01-20.00	52	31	21	17	11	6
		(10.5)	(10.8)	(10.0)	(3.3)	(3.5)	(3.0)
	£20.01-30.00	36	25	11	8	4	4
		(7.2)	(8.7)	(5.2)	(1.6)	(1.3)	(2.0)
	£30.01 or more	77	53	24	1	1	0
		(15.5)	(18.5)	(11.4)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)
DVDs / videos	Up to £5.00	19	9	10	24	14	10
		(3.8)	(3.1)	(4.8)	(4.7)	(4.4)	(5.1)
	£5.01-10.00	53	36	17	47	26	21
		(10.7)	(12.5)	(8.1)	(9.2)	(8.2)	(10.7)
	£10.01-20.00	94	50	44	47	30	17
		(18.9)	(17.4)	(21.0)	(9.2)	(9.5)	(8.6)
	£20.01-30.00	35	21	14	12	8	4
		(7.0)	(7.3)	(6.7)	(2.3)	(2.5)	(2.0)
	£30.01 or more	14	13	1	5	1	4
		(2.8)	(4.5)	(0.5)	(1.0)	(0.3)	(2.0)
Magazines	Up to £5.00	112	72	40	198	118	80
		(22.5)	(25.1)	(19.0)	(38.6)	(37.3)	(40.6)
	£5.01-10.00	55	31	24	61	45	16
		(11.1)	(10.8)	(11.4)	(11.9)	(14.2)	(8.1)
	£10.01-20.00	10	6	4	16	9	7
		(2.0)	(2.1)	(1.9)	(3.1)	(2.8)	(3.6)
	£20.01-30.00	5	4	1	2	1	1
		(1.0)	(1.4)	(0.5)	(0.4)	(0.3)	(0.5)

Table F5 (cont.)

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Music (CDs, records, MP3s)	Up to £5.00	38	23	15	49	33	16
		(7.6)	(8.0)	(7.1)	(9.6)	(10.4)	(8.1)
	£5.01-10.00	101	53	48	117	77	40
		(20.3)	(18.5)	(22.9)	(22.8)	(24.4)	(20.3)
	£10.01-20.00	70	43	27	101	58	43
		(14.1)	(15.0)	(12.9)	(19.7)	(18.4)	(21.8)
	£20.01-30.00	20	11	9	13	10	3
		(4.0)	(3.8)	(4.3)	(2.5)	(3.2)	(1.5)
	£30.01 or more	12	6	6	6	3	3
		(2.4)	(2.1)	(2.9)	(1.2)	(0.9)	(1.5)
Newspaper	Up to £5.00	43	27	16	18	11	7
		(8.7)	(9.4)	(7.6)	(3.5)	(3.5)	(3.6)
	£5.01-10.00	3	1	2	0	0	0
		(0.6)	(0.3)	(1.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Table F6 Monthly expenditure on other leisure goods and services (n and %) by sex and age

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Clothes & footwear	Up to £5.00	7	3	4	5	3	2
		(1.4)	(1.0)	(1.9)	(1.0)	(0.9)	(1.0)
	£5.01-10.00	19	7	12	28	19	9
		(3.8)	(2.4)	(5.7)	(5.5)	(6.0)	(4.6)
	£10.01-20.00	31	16	15	93	64	29
		(6.2)	(5.6)	(7.1)	(18.1)	(20.3)	(14.7)
	£20.01-30.00	56	38	18	110	71	39
		(11.3)	(13.2)	(8.6)	(21.4)	(22.5)	(19.8)
	£30.01 or more	104	58	46	127	73	54
		(20.9)	(20.2)	(21.9)	(24.8)	(23.1)	(27.4)
Cosmetics / toiletries	Up to £5.00	12	9	3	63	38	25
		(2.4)	(3.1)	(1.4)	(12.3)	(12.0)	(12.7)
	£5.01-10.00	21	13	8	155	94	61
		(4.2)	(4.5)	(3.8)	(30.2)	(29.7)	(31.0)
	£10.01-20.00	9	3	6	81	47	34
		(1.8)	(1.0)	(2.9)	(15.8)	(14.9)	(17.3)
	£20.01-30.00	3	0	3	21	14	7
		(0.6)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(4.1)	(4.4)	(3.6)
	£30.01 or more	0	0	0	9	7	2
		(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(1.8)	(2.2)	(1.0)
Clubs / discos	Up to £5.00	25	16	9	17	9	8
		(5.0)	(5.6)	(4.3)	(3.3)	(2.8)	(4.1)
	£5.01-10.00	27	17	10	48	28	20
		(5.4)	(5.9)	(4.8)	(9.4)	(8.9)	(10.2)
	£10.01-20.00	18	8	10	40	24	16
		(3.6)	(2.8)	(4.8)	(7.8)	(7.6)	(8.1)

Table F6 (cont.)

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Clubs / discos	£20.01-30.00	5	3	2	19	9	10
		(1.0)	(1.0)	(1.0)	(3.7)	(2.8)	(5.1)
	£30.01 or more	8	5	3	12	5	7
		(1.6)	(1.7)	(1.4)	(2.3)	(1.6)	(3.6)
Leisure / sports centre	Up to £5.00	74	46	28	72	38	34
		(14.9)	(16.0)	(13.3)	(14.0)	(12.0)	(17.3)
	£5.01-10.00	80	40	40	46	25	21
		(16.1)	(13.9)	(19.0)	(9.0)	(7.9)	(10.7)
	£10.01-20.00	22	15	7	19	10	9
		(4.4)	(5.2)	(3.3)	(3.7)	(3.2)	(4.6)
	£20.01-30.00	10	6	4	5	3	2
		(2.0)	(2.1)	(1.9)	(1.0)	(0.9)	(1.0)
	£30.01 or more	3	2	1	1	0	1
		(0.6)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.5)
Arcade games / gambling	Up to £5.00	62	32	30	18	5	13
		(12.5)	(11.1)	(14.3)	(3.5)	(1.6)	(6.6)
	£5.01-10.00	32	20	12	3	0	3
		(6.4)	(7.0)	(5.7)	(0.6)	(0.0)	(1.5)
	£10.01-20.00	11	8	3	1	1	0
		(2.2)	(2.8)	(1.4)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)
	£20.01-30.00	7	3	4	1	1	0
		(1.4)	(1.0)	(1.9)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)
	£30.01 or more	3	2	1	0	0	0
		(0.6)	(0.7)	(0.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)

Table F6 (cont.)

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Lottery tickets	Up to £5.00	31	16	15	27	12	15
		(6.2)	(5.6)	(7.1)	(5.3)	(3.8)	(7.6)
	£5.01-10.00	5	1	4	3	1	2
		(1.0)	(0.3)	(1.9)	(0.6)	(0.3)	(1.0)
	£10.01-20.00	0	0	0	1	0	1
		(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.5)
Fares	Up to £5.00	61	42	19	101	59	42
		(12.3)	(14.6)	(9.0)	(19.7)	(18.7)	(21.3)
	£5.01-10.00	32	12	20	58	34	24
		(6.4)	(4.2)	(9.5)	(11.3)	(10.8)	(12.2)
	£10.01-20.00	10	7	3	28	12	16
		(2.0)	(2.4)	(1.4)	(5.5)	(3.8)	(8.1)
	£20.01-30.00	2	2	0	7	5	2
		(0.4)	(0.7)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(1.6)	(1.0)
	£30.01 or more	1	0	1	2	2	0
		(0.2)	(0.0)	(0.5)	(0.4)	(0.6)	(0.0)
Youth club	Up to £5.00	34	24	10	22	11	11
		(6.8)	(8.4)	(4.8)	(4.3)	(3.5)	(5.6)
	£5.01-10.00	12	7	5	6	3	3
		(2.4)	(2.4)	(2.4)	(1.2)	(0.9)	(1.5)

Table F6 (cont.)

Use of Leisure	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Books	Up to £5.00	21	12	9	39	25	14
		(4.2)	(4.2)	(4.3)	(7.6)	(7.9)	(7.1)
	£5.01-10.00	19	9	10	19	10	9
		(3.8)	(3.1)	(4.8)	(3.7)	(3.2)	(4.6)
	£10.01-20.00	4	4	0	7	5	2
		(0.8)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(1.4)	(1.6)	(1.0)
Pets	Up to £5.00	13	10	3	21	15	6
		(2.6)	(3.5)	(1.4)	(4.1)	(4.7)	(3.0)
	£5.01-10.00	6	5	1	14	10	4
		(1.2)	(1.7)	(0.5)	(2.7)	(3.2)	(2.0)
	£10.01-20.00	4	3	1	7	5	2
		(0.8)	(1.0)	(0.5)	(1.4)	(1.6)	(1.0)
School equipment	Up to £5.00	35	20	15	63	34	29
		(7.0)	(7.0)	(7.1)	(12.3)	(10.8)	(14.7)
	£5.01-10.00	7	4	3	19	12	7
		(1.4)	(1.4)	(1.4)	(3.7)	(3.8)	(3.6)
	£10.01-20.00	1	1	0	4	4	0
		(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)	(0.8)	(1.3)	(0.0)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Table F7 Monthly expenditure on food and drink in leisure (n and %) by sex and age

Food and Drink	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Alcohol	Up to £5.00	41	31	10	57	41	16
		(8.2)	(10.8)	(4.8)	(11.1)	(13.0)	(8.1)
	£5.01-10.00	99	52	47	133	84	49
		(19.9)	(18.1)	(22.4)	(25.9)	(26.6)	(24.9)
	£10.01-20.00	176	94	82	190	108	82
		(35.4)	(32.8)	(39.0)	(37.0)	(34.2)	(41.6)
	£20.01-30.00	30	14	16	29	13	16
		(6.0)	(4.9)	(7.6)	(5.7)	(4.1)	(8.1)
	£30.01 or more	19	9	10	16	8	8
		(3.8)	(3.1)	(4.8)	(3.1)	(2.5)	(4.1)
Cigarettes / roll ups	Up to £5.00	24	12	12	34	20	14
		(4.8)	(4.2)	(5.7)	(6.6)	(6.3)	(7.1)
	£5.01-10.00	14	7	7	16	11	5
		(2.8)	(2.4)	(3.3)	(3.1)	(3.5)	(2.5)
	£10.01-20.00	15	8	7	31	23	8
		(3.0)	(2.8)	(3.3)	(6.0)	(7.3)	(4.1)
	£20.01-30.00	10	5	5	21	7	14
		(2.0)	(1.7)	(2.4)	(4.1)	(2.2)	(7.1)
	£30.01 or more	16	8	8	13	5	8
		(3.2)	(2.8)	(3.8)	(2.5)	(1.6)	(4.1)
Cake	Up to £5.00	35	19	16	55	29	26
		(7.0)	(6.6)	(7.6)	(10.7)	(9.2)	(13.2)
	£5.01-10.00	12	4	8	11	9	2
		(2.4)	(1.4)	(3.8)	(2.1)	(2.8)	(1.0)
Crisps	Up to £5.00	117	72	45	144	90	54
		(23.5)	(25.1)	(21.4)	(28.1)	(28.5)	(27.4)
	£5.01-10.00	15	5	10	19	10	9
		(3.0)	(1.7)	(4.8)	(3.7)	(3.2)	(4.6)

Table F7 (cont.)

Food and Drink	£	Total Males	Males 15-year-olds	Males 16-year-olds	Total Females	Females 15-year-olds	Females 16-year-olds
Fast food	Up to £5.00	105	67	38	152	107	45
		(21.1)	(23.3)	(18.1)	(29.6)	(33.9)	(22.8)
	£5.01-10.00	139	73	66	124	69	55
		(28.0)	(25.4)	(31.4)	(24.2)	(21.8)	(27.9)
	£10.01-20.00	58	34	24	60	31	29
		(11.7)	(11.8)	(11.4)	(11.7)	(9.8)	(14.7)
	£20.01-30.00	24	12	12	6	5	1
		(4.8)	(4.2)	(5.7)	(1.2)	(1.6)	(0.5)
	£30.01 or more	7	3	4	4	1	3
		(1.4)	(1.0)	(1.9)	(0.8)	(0.3)	(1.5)
Fresh fruit	Up to £5.00	36	23	13	44	28	16
		(7.2)	(8.0)	(6.2)	(8.6)	(8.9)	(8.1)
	£5.01-10.00	8	5	3	6	5	1
		(1.6)	(1.7)	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.6)	(0.5)
Fizzy drinks	Up to £5.00	145	80	65	179	116	63
		(29.2)	(27.9)	(31.0)	(34.9)	(36.7)	(32.0)
	£5.01-10.00	54	30	24	45	27	18
		(10.9)	(10.5)	(11.4)	(8.8)	(8.5)	(9.1)
	£10.01-20.00	14	6	8	6	3	3
		(2.8)	(2.1)	(3.8)	(1.2)	(0.9)	(1.5)
Sweets	Up to £5.00	140	85	55	194	124	70
		(28.2)	(29.6)	(26.2)	(37.8)	(39.2)	(35.5)
	£5.01-10.00	36	21	15	40	27	13
		(7.2)	(7.3)	(7.1)	(7.8)	(8.5)	(6.6)
	£10.01-20.00	11	4	7	1	1	0
		(2.2)	(1.4)	(3.3)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.0)
Total		497	287	210	513	316	197

Appendix G

The Interrelationships between Physical Education, Sport and Leisure in Young People's Lives

Survey Data Tabulations

Table G1 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by the total sample watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) on a school day

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 or more hrs	Total
No participation	10	68	29	6	113
	(13.2)	(11.5)	(10.5)	(8.6)	(11.2)
1-2 times per week	20	150	67	22	259
	(26.3)	(25.5)	(24.4)	(31.4)	(25.6)
3-4 times per week	23	201	105	18	347
	(30.3)	(34.1)	(38.2)	(25.7)	(34.4)
5 or more times per week	23	170	74	24	291
	(30.3)	(28.9)	(26.9)	(34.3)	(28.8)
Total	76	589	275	70	1,010

Table G2 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by males watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) on a school day

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 or more hrs	Total
No participation	1	17	6	1	25
	(2.9)	(6.1)	(4.3)	(2.2)	(5.0)
1-2 times per week	8	40	16	13	77
	(23.5)	(14.3)	(11.5)	(28.9)	(15.5)
3-4 times per week	12	102	59	11	184
	(35.3)	(36.6)	(42.4)	(24.4)	(37.0)
5 or more times per week	13	120	58	20	211
	(38.2)	(43.0)	(41.7)	(44.4)	(42.5)
Total	34	279	139	45	497

Table G3 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by females watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) on a school day

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 or more hrs	Total
No participation	9	51	23	5	88
	(21.3)	(16.5)	(16.9)	(20.0)	(17.2)
1-2 times per week	12	110	51	9	182
	(28.6)	(35.5)	(37.5)	(36.0)	(35.5)
3-4 times per week	11	99	46	7	163
	(26.2)	(31.9)	(33.8)	(28.0)	(31.8)
5 or more times per week	10	50	16	4	80
	(23.8)	(16.1)	(11.8)	(16.0)	(15.6)
Total	42	310	136	25	513

Table G4 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 15-year-olds watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) on a school day

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 or more hrs	Total
No participation	9	42	21	5	77
	(15.5)	(12.7)	(12.5)	(11.1)	(12.8)
1-2 times per week	12	89	44	15	99
	(20.7)	(26.8)	(26.2)	(33.3)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	22	109	58	10	148
	(37.9)	(32.8)	(34.5)	(22.2)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	15	92	45	15	124
	(25.9)	(27.7)	(26.8)	(33.3)	(30.5)
Total	58	332	168	45	603

Table G5 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 16-year-olds watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) on a school day

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	Less than 1 hr or no time at all	1-3 hrs	4-6 hrs	7 or more hrs	Total
No participation	1	26	8	1	36
	(5.6)	(10.1)	(7.5)	(4.0)	(8.8)
1-2 times per week	8	61	23	7	99
	(44.4)	(23.7)	(21.5)	(28.0)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	1	92	47	8	148
	(5.6)	(35.8)	(43.9)	(32.0)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	8	78	29	9	124
	(44.4)	(30.4)	(27.1)	(36.0)	(30.5)
Total	18	257	107	25	407

Table G6 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by the total sample watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) at the weekend

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10-15 hrs	16 or more hrs	Total
No participation	38	58	14	3	113
	(14.1)	(9.7)	(12.6)	(10.3)	(11.2)
1-2 times per week	79	144	25	11	259
	(29.3)	(24.0)	(22.5)	(37.9)	(25.6)
3-4 times per week	81	211	48	7	347
	(30.0)	(35.2)	(43.2)	(24.1)	(34.4)
5 or more times per week	72	187	24	8	291
	(26.7)	(31.2)	(21.6)	(27.6)	(28.8)
Total	270	600	111	29	1,010

Table G7 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by males watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) at the weekend

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10-15 hrs	16 or more hrs	Total
No participation	8	11	6	0	25
	(7.2)	(3.5)	(10.7)	(0.0)	(5.0)
1-2 times per week	22	45	5	5	77
	(19.8)	(14.4)	(8.9)	(27.8)	(15.5)
3-4 times per week	38	114	27	5	184
	(34.2)	(36.5)	(48.2)	(27.8)	(37.0)
5 or more times per week	43	142	18	8	211
	(38.7)	(45.5)	(32.1)	(44.4)	(42.5)
Total	111	312	56	18	497

Table G8 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by females watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) at the weekend

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10-15 hrs	16 or more hrs	Total
No participation	30	47	8	3	88
	(18.9)	(16.3)	(14.5)	(27.3)	(17.2)
1-2 times per week	57	99	20	6	182
	(35.8)	(34.4)	(36.4)	(54.5)	(35.5)
3-4 times per week	43	97	21	2	163
	(27.0)	(33.7)	(38.2)	(18.2)	(31.8)
5 or more times per week	29	45	6	0	80
	(18.2)	(15.6)	(10.9)	(0.0)	(15.6)
Total	159	288	55	11	513

Table G9 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent by 15-year-olds watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) at the weekend

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10-15 hrs	16 or more hrs	Total
No participation	24	39	13	1	77
	(14.2)	(11.4)	(17.1)	(5.9)	(12.8)
1-2 times per week	46	90	16	8	99
	(27.2)	(26.4)	(21.1)	(47.1)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	56	110	29	4	148
	(33.1)	(32.3)	(38.2)	(23.5)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	43	102	18	4	124
	(25.4)	(29.9)	(23.7)	(23.5)	(30.5)
Total	169	341	76	17	603

Table G10 Relationship between weekly leisure-sport and physical activity participation and time spent 16-year-olds watching TV, videos and DVDs (n and %) at the weekend

Frequency of leisure-sport and physical activity participation	3 hrs or less	4-9 hrs	10-15 hrs	16 or more hrs	Total
No participation	14	19	1	2	36
	(13.9)	(7.3)	(2.9)	(16.7)	(8.8)
1-2 times per week	33	54	9	3	99
	(32.7)	(20.8)	(25.7)	(25.0)	(24.3)
3-4 times per week	25	101	19	3	148
	(24.8)	(39.0)	(54.3)	(25.0)	(36.4)
5 or more times per week	29	85	6	4	124
	(28.7)	(32.8)	(17.1)	(33.3)	(30.5)
Total	101	259	35	12	407

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